

# SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

# SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*January-February, 1935*

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## INTELLIGENCE AND THE RADIO

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

*University of Minnesota*

DURING the last decade the radio has become one of the most important agencies of communication and bids fair to affect every phase of modern life. It is a well-known fact that the census of 1930 revealed 12,048,762 homes in the United States with radios on April 1, 1930. The estimate for January 1, 1933, is 16,809,562 radio-equipped homes.<sup>1</sup>

Minneapolis radio listeners report about 3.5 persons on the average listening to a radio set at a particular time.<sup>2</sup> Obviously the radio has become a social institution deserving careful study by the sociologist. That the sets are actually used to set up an intimate although indirect personality interaction comparable in duration to primary group contacts is evidenced by the Minneapolis study and by other data. There were 479 fairly representative Minneapolis radio listeners who reported listening to the radio broadcasts almost 20 hours a week on the average. It is almost startling to consider this claim that about 18 per cent of waking time is spent on the average listening to the radio.

The wave of interest in the radio that has arisen during

<sup>1</sup> *World Almanac*, 1934, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> C. Kirkpatrick, *Report of a Research into the Attitudes and Habits of Radio Listeners* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Webb Publishing Co., 1933), p. 26.

the last decade has been accompanied during recent months by increasing rebellion at the failure of the radio to fulfill its potentialities. Articles and debates too numerous to mention have brought forth the assertion that radio programs consist for the most part of cheap advertising and propaganda keyed for the ears of moron listeners. There is good evidence from sampling and auditory observation of programs in Minneapolis that there is a genuine discrepancy between the types of program desired and those offered.<sup>3</sup> This article, however, is concerned exclusively with the question, "Is responsiveness to the radio associated with lack of intelligence?" A newspaper, perhaps goaded by vigorous radio competition, would put the question, "Are radio fans morons?"

Viewed soberly the problem seems to justify bringing together some of the evidence which is an outgrowth and an elaboration of the writer's previously published study. The original study was based on 507 returns from a rather lengthy questionnaire sent to a sample of homes listed in the Minneapolis Telephone Directory. Thanks to preliminary phone calls requesting coöperation, the return was excellent, ranging from 45 to 75 per cent depending upon the method of computation. The sample corresponded admirably to the census distributions of age and sex for adults in the city but was somewhat higher in occupational status. Perhaps this latter fact would be expected of radio owners. The questionnaire was carefully checked for reliability and validity.<sup>4</sup>

*Indirect Evidence.* Since there is some reason to think that there is an association between occupational status and intelligence it is pertinent to consider the relation be-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-23.



tween radio listening hours and occupational status.<sup>5</sup> The occupations of the radio listeners were classified on the seven-point scale used by Goodenough and Anderson,<sup>6</sup> and the classification then checked for reliability.

The following table shows a tendency for the higher occupational groups I and II to be associated with a smaller number of listening hours.

TABLE I

OCCUPATION OF 451 PERSONS IN THE MAIN SAMPLE GIVING ADEQUATE DATA IN RELATION TO ESTIMATED NUMBER OF LISTENING HOURS DURING THE LAST SEVEN DAYS PRECEDING ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Occupation	Number	Mean Listening Hours
Group I .....	44	12.8
Group II .....	60	17.7
Students .....	26	19.0
Group III .....	72	22.7
Housewives .....	146	23.8
Groups IV and V.. (4 and 88)	92	19.0
Groups VI and VII.. (7 and 2)	9	21.4

This table might have been slightly different if all of the 507 persons in the main sample had given adequate data, but it is unlikely that the general implication of the table would have been greatly changed.

There is even more justification for assuming an association between educational status and intelligence than between occupation and intelligence. Table II shows a tendency for persons of higher educational status to report smaller amounts of radio listening.

<sup>5</sup> See C. S. Yoakum and R. M. Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1920); C. Kirkpatrick, *Intelligence and Immigration* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1926), p. 84; E. S. Dexter, "The Relation between Occupation of Parent and Intelligence of Children," *School and Society*, 17:612-14, 1923; D. Fryer, "Occupational Intelligence Standards," *School and Society*, 16:273-77, 1922; A. W. Kornhauser, "The Economic Standing of Parents and the Intelligence of Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 9:159-64, 1918; Harvey Lehman and S. M. Stoke, "Occupational Intelligence in the Army," *American Journal of Sociology*, 36:15-27, July, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> F. L. Goodenough and J. E. Anderson, *Experimental Child Psychology*, Appendix A (New York: The Century Co., 1931), pp. 501-12.

TABLE II

THE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF 428 PERSONS IN THE MAIN SAMPLE GIVING ADEQUATE DATA IN RELATION TO ESTIMATED LISTENING HOURS FOR A WEEK, TOGETHER WITH THE MEAN LISTENING HOURS OF 148 STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Mean Listening Hours a Week</i>
U. of M. Students.....	148	10.9
17-20 years' schooling.....	34	16.9
13-16 " ".....	152	18.6
9-12 " ".....	164	23.7
1-4 and 5-8 " ".....	78	21.8

If there were an association between radio responsiveness and lack of intelligence one might expect those in the lower occupational groups to be less inclined to reduce their radio listening as compared with those in the higher occupational groups. This possibility seems to be borne out by Table III.

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF 443 PERSONS IN THE MAIN SAMPLE GIVING COMPLETE DATA IN RELATION TO THE PERCENTAGES OF EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP REPORTING LISTENING MORE AND LESS TO THE RADIO

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent Listening More</i>	<i>Per Cent Listening Less</i>
Group I .....	44	9.1	47.7
Group II .....	60	8.3	26.7
Students .....	24	25.0	12.5
Group III .....	70	24.3	18.6
Housewives .....	143	19.6	23.1
Groups IV and V..(4 and 87)	91	20.8	15.5
Groups VI and VII (9 and 2)	11	9.1	27.2

The possibility should, of course, be kept in mind that persons in the lowest occupational classes might not be perfectly represented among the persons in the main sample who gave adequate replies for the questions. Corresponding data in regard to educational status in relation to trends of radio listening are given in Table IV.

TABLE IV

YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF 424 PERSONS IN THE MAIN SAMPLE GIVING ADEQUATE DATA IN RELATION TO THE PERCENTAGES OF EACH SCHOOLING GROUP LISTENING MORE AND LESS TO THE RADIO

Group	Number	Per Cent Listening More	Per Cent Listening Less
17-20 years .....	34	8.8	41.2
13-16 years .....	149	17.4	30.2
9-12 years .....	162	20.4	16.0
1-4 and 5-8 .... (4 and 75) ....	79	22.8	16.4

It might further be expected that if intelligence is correlated with occupational and social status and the less intelligent are more responsive to the radio, the lower social status groups would be more favorable in their evaluation of radio programs. The evidence is presented in Tables V and VI.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE THINKING PROGRAMS BETTER AND WORSE IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS FOR 445 PERSONS GIVING COMPLETE DATA

Group	Number	Per Cent Replying Better	Per Cent Replying Worse
I .....	44	27.3	47.7
II .....	60	33.3	31.7
Students .....	25	56.0	12.0
III .....	70	55.7	17.1
Housewives .....	143	40.5	23.1
IV and V .... (4 and 89) ....	93	46.2	14.0
VI and VII .... (8 and 2) ....	10	50.0	20.0

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE THINKING PROGRAMS BETTER AND WORSE IN RELATION TO YEARS OF SCHOOLING FOR 428 PERSONS GIVING COMPLETE DATA

Group	Number	Per Cent Replying Better	Per Cent Replying Worse
17-20 .....	33	24.2	39.4
13-16 .....	148	43.2	26.3
9-12 .....	165	49.7	18.8
1-4 and 5-8 .... (4 and 78) ....	82	41.5	18.3

<sup>7</sup> C. Kirkpatrick, *Report of a Research into the Attitudes and Habits of Radio Listeners* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Webb Publishing Co., 1933), p. 26.

In interpreting the above table the critical reader will naturally keep in mind (1) the small number of cases in the lowest status groups; (2) a possible slight bias in the failure of certain persons in the main sample to give complete data; and (3) the possible effect of less leisure and inferior sets on the listening habits of the lowest social status groups.

*Direct Evidence.* The indirect evidence that has been presented suggests a greater responsiveness to the radio on the part of the middle and to some extent the lower social classes as compared with the presumably more intelligent upper social class. The direct evidence for members of *one* educational class is not quite consistent with the indirect evidence that has been cited. For 127 students at the University of Minnesota who filled out the Radio Information Blank it was possible to obtain College Aptitude Test Scores. It was possible to correlate these scores with estimated number of hours of actual listening during the preceding seven days. The Pearson coefficient of correlation proved to be only  $-.001$ . Of course for the individual a week's listening experience is not a fair sample of radio habits. The coefficient, however, is almost identical with the coefficient of  $-.10$  obtained by Lumley after partialling out the influence of economic status.<sup>8</sup>

A correlation between college aptitude score and estimated amount of time spent during the preceding week within hearing of a radio in operation yielded a coefficient of  $-.23$ . It should seem that *within* a fairly homogeneous social class such as that of college students there is no very good evidence in the available data for a greater radio responsiveness of the less intelligent individuals.

<sup>8</sup> F. H. Lumley, *Education on the Air* (Edited by J. H. MacLachy) (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1933), p. 358.

There is a possibility that the more intelligent individuals, while listening no more and perhaps less than their duller comrades, are more responsive in the sense of having a better retention of what they do hear over the air. As part of an earlier study an information test of the multiple choice type was prepared based on a representative sample of a week's broadcasting content from Twin City radio stations. There was a correlation of only  $+.14 \pm .09$  between college ability score and radio program information score for the 125 students whose scores were available. This crumb of evidence does not support any claim for a significant differential radio responsiveness as related to differences in intelligence within a limited range of social and educational status.

*Conclusion.* The limited evidence here examined suggests a relationship between lower occupational and educational status, presumably associated in some degree with lower intelligence and radio responsiveness. There is no significant correlation revealed, however, between lower student intelligence and greater radio responsiveness.



## CLOSING IN ON THE MACHINE

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

*University of Southern California*

THERE ARE GROUNDS for thinking that beneath all the noisy disputations and mutual excommunications of partisan radicals and reactionaries, a fundamental recasting of social thought is going on in the Western world, not excepting even complacent America, these forty-eight commonwealths, to be explicit. Oswald Spengler benumbed us with his *Decline of the West*, a world-resounding doom pronounced against our "Faustian" Occident. Next Stuart Chase and the *Technocrats* stung us so outrageously with all the "paradoxes of plenty," including more than a plenty of facts, that there was nothing left for the guardians of the system but to advance, by the rearwise attack, on Howard Scott himself. Now comes Lewis Mumford, with his astounding and probably epoch-making volume, *Technics and Civilization*.<sup>1</sup>

It is a fascinating book in more ways than one. To the artistically inclined it will come as a joy, and to the social idealist, as a trumpet-call. The illustrations are unique, taking the form of sixteen exquisite plates, each presenting four figures with illuminating marginal comment, and the whole constituting a sort of panorama that pictures the process by which our modern machine technique came to be just what it is. But these splendid devices merely illustrate the author's vivid and discriminating discussion. Approaching from the threefold vantage of demonstrated competence as a critic in art, engineering, and social science, Mr. Mumford calmly subjects the modern indus-

<sup>1</sup> (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1934), pp. xl+495.

trial and social scene to such a ransacking and dissection as it has seldom if ever experienced before. His method is to write a social and cultural history around the technological process, and to illuminate it not only with incomparable pictures but with a sustained and profoundly critical discussion of values and appreciations that have grown up with it and around it.

Building on the analysis of his acknowledged master, Professor Patrick Geddes, Mumford finds three stages in the evolution of primitive simple tools into our complex machine civilization. The first was the "Eotechnic," or dawn of the technical process. Its principal material was wood, and its motive powers were wind and water. Humanly controlled and socialized through the guilds, it reached extraordinary efficiency and finish, and provided the utilization base for a comparatively fine and harmonious socio-economic order. The Dutch landscape of the 16th and 17th centuries provides a pleasing example, with its great batteries of windmills set in a rural and semirural guild environment.

The "Paleotechnic," or older technical stage, found its leading materials in iron and coal, its motive power in steam, and its seat in the factory town, peculiarly exemplified in the dark and grimy mill towns of England during the 19th century. This period, beginning in 1700, and just now coming to its close, was the most ugly, empty, begrimed, sordid, machine-ridden, Mammon-ruled, and altogether dehumanized and unlovely epoch in human history. It was the era of "carboniferous capitalism," which was not, however, a reversion into savagery, but "an upthrust into barbarism," the heyday for exploitation of labor and of child life in the name of prosperity. Some of its marks are "atmospheric sewage," "stream pollution," the "degradation of the worker," the "castration of skill," the

"discipline of starvation," and "the starvation of life." Industry was unplanned, and motivated by *fear* from top to bottom. On the whole the author sees it as "a rubbish-strewn avenue" from the more idyllic "Eotechnic" period of the forest, the water mill, and the wooden sailing vessel, into the new technical era, the "Neotechnic," upon which the Western world is now well advanced.

In expounding this "Neotechnic," our own present phase of the industrial and social process, the author is even more challenging, if possible, than in his earlier portrayals. It is the era of electricity and of composite, synthetic products, notably *rubber* in all its forms, but also of gasoline, glass, celluloid, vulcanite, bakelite, synthetic resins, and countless other synthetic compounds, as well as of new alloys, lighter metals, and rare earths. Its guiding pattern is not physics and *mechanical contrivances* so much as biology, biochemistry, and *organic forms*. These are being carried over into industrial structure, social organization, and all the forms of art. The "Neotechnic" régime is reducing the brute dominion and worship of the machine, while at the same time putting it to finer and more astonishing tasks. In this phase the machine will become the servant of mankind, and its planned use will be motivated by an organic view of life that will bring social welfare into the central rôle in the social process, and make consumption rather than production and acquisition the goal of industrial life.

Following his account of these three phases of technical and social history, the author concludes with three chapters entitled respectively, "Compensations and Reversions," "Assimilation of the Machine," and "Orientation." This is a discriminating and comprehensive statement of the new social philosophy which is constantly gaining adherents and exponents in this "Neotechnic" period, and

which is apparently destined to provide the guide lines for the era toward which we are moving fast, and which Mumford aptly calls the "Biotechnic." As the word suggests, it will make technic the servant of life rather than its taskmaster and devourer.

Upon nothing more, or less, revolutionary than this, as the present writer views it, the forward-looking people, old and young, of these soul-stirring times are set with a purpose deeper than all these mutual violences and violent repressions of violence that play over the surface. It may be a turning homeward of the human spirit to a more humane and satisfying social life, a mutual aid system, which was lost when the giant modern machines were impressed into the enrichment of the few. Dare we think of such a momentous movement as this in these seemingly superficial and thoughtless days? Possibly so, but if so it will be accomplished by just such root-cutting analyses as this of Lewis Mumford. Many of us have been able to see how the social process has defeated itself by a vast over-elaboration of the utilization process at the expense of a satisfactory, to say nothing of a fair, equalization of its benefits; and some have seen the remedy only in a re-evaluation of the economic and social life. Mr. Mumford, not content with calling for such a reevaluation, has actually gone about the task of making it. And along with the economic and social he has added, in even larger measure perhaps, an immensely challenging restatement of art and of the esthetic values in general.

All students, and none more than those in sociology, need to master this book. In their desperation the defenders of the effete "Paleotechnic" order are assailing those moulders of folk thought, the schools and school teachers. Those teachers who are partisans are justly subject to criticism, though not to insult and intimidaton, such

as they are now facing. But, after all, the realm of all true scientists, philosophers, artists, and teachers is just this one of the interpretation and re-creation of values, and the more deeply they sound the depths of social process the more dynamic and the more unassailable they will become. Mankind, the spirit of humanity, is closing in on the machine, and its capture in the interest of the general welfare may be even now at hand.

It would be strange if one found nothing to deprecate in four hundred and thirty-five pages, even where outstanding brilliancy commands approval. The present writer would, however, enter an exception to Mr. Mumford's summary dismissal of the most recent farm movement as a plan for "scrapping the machine and returning to a bare subsistence level in little island utopias devoted to sub-agriculture and submanufacture." This he characterizes as "not an adventure but a bedraggled retreat, not a release but a confession of complete failure." (299) In some of its aspects it probably is just that, and the experts have already pointed out the "danger of developing a large peasant population on the millions of acres of land which are submarginal for business farming, but which will permit self-sustaining farming on a low standard of living."<sup>2</sup> Yet, while such a danger lurks in certain aspects of the movement, in others it is simply a well-conceived and carefully engineered attempt to spread metropolitan populations over an ultrasuburban or rurban zone, and eventually a more widely dispersed system of such areas, closely connected with decentralized industrial plants. Thus conceived, the subsistence (more accurately *supplementary*) farm movement is really expressing some of Mumford's ideas, such as the partial elimination of the machine

<sup>2</sup> Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton in *Recent Social Trends*, 1933, Vol. I., p. 10.



(258), genuinely socialized regional planning (389), and that "Edenlike state" of socialized mechanization and "ritual of leisure" which he so alluringly portrays. (279)

In his paragraphs on "basic communism," Mr. Mumford comes close to stating, but does not completely formulate, the most central truth of economics, long hidden from the wise and prudent expounders of that science, but now being revealed to babes and sucklings in the academic sense. Mumford goes so far as to say that "the claim to a livelihood rests upon the fact that, like the child in a family, one is a member of a community: the energy, the technical knowledge, the social heritage of a community belong equally to every member of it, since in the large the individual contributions and differences are completely insignificant." (403) The present writer has gone one step farther and maintained that the same inescapable *community* is present in the narrower cultural process which is called *economic production*, and renders the casuistical discussions of the Manchester school of economics with respect to the "economic distribution" of shares to the "factors" of production, namely land, labor, capital, and enterprise, a highly academic exercise. The classical theory, gratuitously assuming that economic processes are part of the order of nature, whereas they are essentially human and social evaluations, has been accustomed to regard its explanation of these social arrangements and appreciations as a statement of inevitable natural laws, more especially of the biological law of natural selection. The basic consideration referred to above renders this merely a systematic rationalization. I refer to the fact that in actual life it is impossible to tell just how much any economic factor, or even any single person representing any single factor, contributes to the total product of the industrial organization. A man's contribution as rent receiver,

wage earner, interest taker, or profit-and-loss claimant, is not limited to that particular rôle. Simply as a consumer, a borrower, law-abiding citizen, a member of society, he constantly makes further contributions to economic production in forms that cannot be parcelled out and measured or evaluated specifically, by any natural law of wages, "iron" or otherwise. He is simply a part of the whole of us who carry on together the productive-consumptive process, which is essentially a *collective* process, and never in any instance an *individual* process. The corollary is that the total national product is the output of the whole nation, of the total situation (configuration, *Gestalt*) and belongs to the people as a whole. No individual is more, or less, than a trustee with respect to any part of it. This much the social theory of private property, as developed by Professor Ely and others, long ago clearly showed, and a *gestalt sociology* may eventually expand it into a more adequate and comprehensive account of social process and organization. Indeed we are just now coming to realize that "mouths" are just as important as "hands" in keeping industry going, and we have now to find how to discharge hands without putting the mouths out of the market; or else scrap the machines.

Lewis Mumford would, presumably, subscribe to this, and would call it "basic communism." Yet on the same page he clearly shows that it is not to be identified with either the ideologies or political methods and programs of anything in Russia, other states of Europe, or elsewhere. In that he is quite right; so much so that it would seem to be unfortunate to use, in connection with it, the word "communism" at all. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him" expresses a human weakness, to be sure, but also a stubborn fact of social behavior. The phrase he uses may be accurate in the etymological sense, but will shed more

heat than light in quarters where the latter is most acutely needed. The present writer prefers to call it *collectivism*. This term has never been identified, as have "socialism" and "communism," with party programs, and only slightly with political conflicts. Moreover it names a generic or basic personal attitude and principle of social action, just as does "individualism," which also has never become a party program. These two principles or policies are in opposition, although not incapable of both being included in a larger synthesis or accommodation, after the Great American Inquisition is over, and as we move forward into the more sane and balanced society of the coming "Bio-technic" Age.

## CONCEPTS IN ATTITUDE TESTS

### WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOCIAL QUESTIONS

DANIEL H. KULP, II

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*Introduction.* The chaos in the field of attitude testing is all too apparent. It is, therefore, a most important problem at present to define and standardize the use of such terms as attitude, opinion, belief, judgment, and fact. When examining the content of the tests in the field, one is amazed at the conglomeration of items. There are items asking for simple information, for judgments, for beliefs, and yet they are supposed to be measuring attitudes. But are they? The words—attitude, opinion, judgment, belief—are used interchangeably, although there are many writers who recognize the distinction but offer no clear-cut way out.<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose of Study.* It is the object of this paper, therefore, (1) to note briefly the literature on this problem; (2) to examine briefly the tests in the field of international, interracial, political, economic, social, and religious problems; (3) to present definitions and examples of attitudes, opinions, judgments, beliefs, and facts; and (4) to bring to bear experimental evidence in order to show more clearly the confusion existing and to serve as supplementary proof for the concepts and their definitions presented herein.

*Types of Tests.* Several of the published tests in the field of social attitudes were examined and critically surveyed in view of the definitions suggested for attitude, opinion, belief, judgment, and fact as outlined in the next

<sup>1</sup> R. Likert, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 140, 1932, pp. 12-13.

part of this paper. A number of questionnaires appearing in journal articles also were examined. According to the concept and definition of attitude presented later in this paper, none of these tests or questionnaires examined truly measures attitudes. Most of the items contained in them are of the belief and judgment types.

*Definitions and Examples.* It is appropriate at this point to present definitions for these terms as used in this investigation and to give examples of each in the form of possible items appearing in attitude tests. Some of the definitions may suggest old concepts but it is our purpose here not necessarily to offer something new but to relieve us as much as possible from some of the existing confusion.

### *Definitions*

1. An *attitude* is a behavior tendency with reference to a value. It may be expressed in verbal symbols or through nonverbal overt behavior.

2. A *judgment* is a decision of an intellectual order, a cognitive experience concerning the qualitative aspects of one's environment, based upon personal knowledge.

3. A *belief* is a verbal expression of one's highly personalized affective behaviors with reference to environmental qualities. There is more of an emotional than an intellectual content. It takes form with reference to idealistic norms.

4. An *opinion* is a rationalization for a given act, attitude, belief, or judgment. It is a reason which satisfies the person expressing it for self-justification. Its major character is intellectual. It cannot stand by itself but must be attached to an attitude, belief, or judgment.

5. A *fact* statement is a record of data based upon actual and verifiable information.

### *Examples*

#### 1. Attitudes

- a. I favor the United States joining the League of Nations.



- b. I promote the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States.
- 2. Judgments
  - a. The United States is justified in not joining the League of Nations.
  - b. It is necessary that the United States recognize Soviet Russia.
- 3. Beliefs
  - a. The United States should decide to join the League of Nations.
  - b. The United States should recognize Soviet Russia.
- 4. Opinions<sup>2</sup>
  - a. I favor the United States joining the League of Nations because it has already rendered great service to humanity.
  - b. It is necessary that we recognize Soviet Russia since it is possible for the United States to develop a huge trade with her.
- 5. Facts
  - a. The United States has refused to join the League of Nations.
  - b. The United States has recognized Soviet Russia.

The following is the complete list of items in the "attitude" form of statement.

- 1. I promote the recognition of Soviet Russia by my government.
- 2. I protest against allowing Communists openly to advocate their policies here in the United States.
- 3. I advocate that the great nations in the world have a part in determining the foreign policies of small and weak nations.
- 4. I support our national exclusion of the Japanese and Chinese of the immigrant labor type from the United States.
- 5. I support the United States government in keeping the Philippine Islands.
- 6. I favor always being adequately prepared for war.
- 7. I desire that immigration be cut off almost entirely.
- 8. I have nothing but contempt for the church.
- 9. I despise the church as a parasite on society.

<sup>2</sup> In 4-a, the opinion is attached to an attitude; in 4-b, it is attached to a judgment.

10. I do not patronize a hotel that accommodates Negroes.
11. I favor the United States joining the League of Nations.
12. I aid whenever possible in directing our educational forces toward the development of socialism.
13. I advocate legalizing the distribution of birth control information.
14. I accept the proposition that birth control is the only solution to many of our social problems.
15. I advocate an organization of all nations.
16. I disapprove of nations intervening with military force in purely commercial or financial disputes.
17. I favor immediate disarmament of all nations.
18. I favor the control of our government by great financial interests.
19. I support government ownership of the railroads in the United States.
20. I aid colored people in their fight for social equality.
21. I defend a federal law against lynching.
22. I oppose requiring white men to work with Negroes.
23. I urge teachers to give students of suitable age a firm understanding and belief in the protective tariff policy.
24. I favor the cultivation of international friendship and good will by governments.
25. I sacrifice all national, cultural, and historical traditions.

*Experimental Procedure.* Twenty-five items were selected at random from several of these attitude tests and were converted into the *attitude* form, as given in the foregoing statements, the *judgment* form, the *belief* form, and the *fact* form according to the examples presented herewith—thus making a total of one hundred items.<sup>3</sup> These one hundred items were shuffled and mimeographed according to the resulting chance order. This list was sent to fifty

<sup>3</sup> When the original item contained an opinion, as defined in this paper, the opinion part was dropped for the sake of simplicity. To include the opinion part would not have contributed at all to the problem at hand; i.e., the differentiation among attitudes, beliefs, judgments, and facts. It remains for another research to attempt to determine whether responses to an item without an opinion will be the same as responses to the same item containing an opinion or a rationalization for so believing or judging or behaving. It is the author's hypothesis that the responses would vary because of the rationalizations, which can take many different forms.

sociologists, members of the American Sociological Society, with instructions to classify each item according to whether they thought it was best considered as attitude (A) or judgment (J) or belief (B) or fact (F). They were not given any definitions for purposes of comparing agreement with those offered above. Twenty-eight usable questionnaires were returned.

*Treatment of Data.* The responses to each of the one hundred items were tabulated for the twenty-eight questionnaires. The number answering each item as A or J or B or F was obtained and the percentages for each were calculated.

It was noticed from the many comments received that A items were often thought to be F items. Since all the attitude items started with "I" and contained an active verb, the person answering the questionnaire felt that he was being asked to consider these as facts. Such being the case, the number and percentage marking the twenty-five attitude items, as fact items, were also calculated.

*Results.* The twenty-five items which appeared in the original tests were classifiable by our definitions into the four types as follows: sixteen belief items, five judgment items, three fact items, and one attitude item. The percentage answering the sixteen belief items as B ranged from 14 to 46; the percentage answering the sixteen items as B or J ranged from 39 to 86. The percentage answering the five judgment items as J ranged from 15 to 43; while the percentage answering the five judgment items as J or B ranged from 48 to 89. The percentage answering the three fact items as F ranged from 11 to 39. The low percentage answering these items as F can be easily explained since these three items may not be truly fact<sup>4</sup> items

<sup>4</sup> One of the fact items read: Our government is controlled by great financial interests. This may or may not be considered a fact.

because of the paucity of information in regard to them. Most of the other F items received a very high percentage agreement, as will be noted. The percentage answering the one attitude item as A is 71. This becomes 82% when those answering this item as F are included.

An analysis of the remaining data reveal these results. Of the one hundred items, forty-one were marked according to our key by 50% or more of those answering the questionnaire. Of these forty-one items, nineteen were attitude items, fifteen were fact items, five were judgment items, and two were belief items. If the A items that were marked F are included in the above calculations because of the reason already given, the results are as follows: forty-seven items were marked according to the key by 50% or more of those answering the questionnaire. Of these forty-seven items, twenty-five were attitude items, fifteen were fact items, five were judgment items, and two were belief items. On this latter basis there were twenty-seven items on which there was an agreement of from 85% to 100%. All of these were F items and A items marked as either A or F.

The percentage answering the twenty-five A items as A ranged from 20 to 79; the percentage answering the twenty-five F items as F ranged from 11 to 100. On nineteen of the A items, the percentage answering them as A was 50 or more; on fifteen of the F items, the percentage answering them as F was 50 or more. But on nine of the F items, the percentage answering them as F was more than 80—on seven, the percentage was more than 85. The percentage answering the twenty-five B items as B ranged from 14 to 58. On only two of the B items, the percentage answering them as B was 50 or more. The percentage answering the twenty-five J items as J ranged from 11 to 61.

On five of the J items, the percentage answering them as J was more than 50. This is shown in the following table.

TABLE I

<i>Type of Item</i>	<i>No. of items on which there was 50 or more per cent agreement</i>	<i>No. of items on which there was 80 or more per cent agreement</i>	<i>No. of items on which there was 85 or more per cent agreement</i>
A	19	0	0
F	15	9	7
B	2	0	0
J	5	0	0

*Conclusions.* 1. The greatest agreement with the key occurs in the following rank order: first, fact items; second, attitude items; third, judgment items; and fourth, belief items.

2. Attitude items expressed in the form as defined herein can be most readily recognized; this fact supports the use of straightforward phrasing in attitude test construction.

3. Facts are readily recognized but should not by any evidence yet available be indiscriminately used in test making. To agree or disagree is a matter of judgment of "factness," not of attitude. A check, one way or the other, for such an item leaves us in the dark as to the person's attitude.

4. Due to the uncertainty in distinguishing judgments from beliefs, we cannot be sure how to interpret them *per se*, or in relation to attitudes. They should be omitted from attitude tests except as they may be needed as "blinds" or "dummies."

5. The changes in results of tests due to adding opinion forms to attitude forms or belief forms or judgment forms have yet to be investigated.



## FACTORS REGARDED BY CHILDREN AS THE BASIS OF THEIR RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN two earlier papers, the writers have presented evidence to show that sixth-grade public school children have clearly defined racial attitudes, which can be indicated by the social distance technique.<sup>1</sup> Results from fifteen elaborate interviews yield interesting and significant data on the reasons that children give in discriminating between various races. The present paper will present a detailed analysis of these factors and summarize the apparent significance of the results.

The factors that children claim to be the basis of their racial attitudes were tabulated, and the most important ones are discussed in the following paragraphs. The factors have been arranged in order of frequency of mention by the children. Following each brief discussion, illustrative quotations are given from the interviews.

### REASONS CHILDREN GIVE FOR DISCRIMINATING BETWEEN VARIOUS RACES

*Customs.* The customs of a people, their ways of living, eating, celebrating holidays, games, all affect the children's attitudes. A strange custom may be attractive or repulsive, depending not upon its strangeness but upon the custom itself and the appeal it makes to the child.

<sup>1</sup> Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Racial Attitudes of Two Hundred Sixth-Grade Children," *Sociology and Social Research*, 18:26-36, 1933.

Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Checking the Social Distance Technique Through Personal Interviews," *Sociology and Social Research*, 18:420-30, 1934.

The Dutch are so quaint. I like their ways and customs. They keep their houses so cute, tidy, and clean.

I like Irish songs and the way they celebrate their holidays. I like to study about the Emerald Isle. When they have no coal they use peat. That shows that they can do without things they haven't got.

I don't like the funny customs of the Italians. One of them is that a girl can't go out with a boy unless her mother or brother, or some relative comes along.

*Costumes.* The costumes of some races attract children and help to develop favorable attitudes. Sometimes, however, children are repelled by an unusual costume.

I like the costumes of the Spanish people. I like their shawls and the way they wear their hair with fans in it, while they are dancing.

No, I don't like the Turks. I see a picture of one on a desert, during a sand storm, in my imagination. He is a man with black hair with a mustache, riding on a camel. He wears a white cloak.

*Cleanliness.* Habits of cleanliness of a people affect children's racial attitudes toward them.

I like the Dutch. They are very clean and helpful people. Although they are under sea level they are cleaner than most of the people who live above sea level.

I would not like to have a Negro for a neighbor. When they are in their homes most of them are not clean. They dress any old way just so they have something on. They leave garbage cans around every place.

*Difference In Race.* Children usually differentiate clearly between their own and another race. Back of many answers there seems to be an assumption that people do not have intimate relationships with members of other races.

I like Americans better than anyone. They are our own people. I think they are the best. You always think so about your own nationality.

I want Jews for every relationship because I am a Jew. He

belongs to the same race I do. He has the same religion as I have.

No, I wouldn't have a Negro for a cousin. He is of a different race. I just wouldn't feel very close to him. I am white and Jewish.

*Language.* Means of communication influence social distance. Thus language is important in racial attitudes.

I like the English. They speak the same language as we do.

I like the French. Their language is so pretty. I would like to learn it.

I wouldn't like to have a Chinaman for a cousin. He doesn't speak the same language I do. The Chinese language sounds so funny.

*Religion.* Differences of religion are influential in creating racial attitudes. Unusual religious practices attract some children and repel others.

I wouldn't want a Japanese for a cousin because he is not of the same race or religion that I am. I don't feel so close to him. It wouldn't seem right to have him for a cousin.

I think the Chinese are interesting. I like the statues of their Gods that they worship.

I don't like the Hindus. They are real funny in their religion. I would not like to go in the Ohio River like they go in the Ganges. I don't like their religion; it's so different; it seems silly.

*Warlikeness.* Whether a people seems to be peaceful or warlike is an important factor in a child's feelings toward it.

I don't think the Hindus are a nice race of people. They are warlike. They don't get along with people. They were not getting along with the British.

The French are like us a lot and are civilized at our stage. When you hear about war and people fighting, that was a long time ago, but most nations are civilized and try to get together for peace. Before we used to have war with each other but now they teach us in school to be friendly. Some of the French people already can speak the English language. That shows we are getting together. We just made a peace treaty with France.

I like the Swedish people. They have no hatred toward other countries. Our next door neighbor has a Swedish maid. I like the way she treats the children.

*Desire to Know About Races.* Curiosity accounts for some favorable reactions. Children desire to know about the habits and customs of peoples.

I would like to have a Turk for a chum. I would like to know their ways and how they go about doing things. They would teach me their games. I would like to know how they do things in their schools; how they do their lessons, and the way they write.

*Likeness to Own Race.* Similarity of their own race with another in physical appearance, customs, and stage of civilization, draws children toward that race.

I like the Canadians. They are near us and are like us. They speak the same language. They are very peaceful. They have customs like ours. Although some of them are related to the French they still act more like Americans.

*Character Traits.* Children often have a feeling that certain races are cruel, mean, sneaky, or untrustworthy.

I don't like the Russians because most of them are very cruel. You always read in stories how cruel they are. I would regard a Russian man as a Cossack; one of those Russians who kill people.

I don't like the Filipino at all. It seems to me he is a little too sneaky.

*Civilization and Progress.* The degree of civilization of a people and the progress they are making influence children in forming their attitudes.

I like the English, all except Henry VIII. He had so many wives. I like the history of the English people. It is interesting to note how they made their progress in civilization. First they were wild savages and now they have the biggest city in the world.

The Filipinos are usually like savages. I don't believe they are entirely human. They hardly wear any clothes.

*Physical Appearance.* Differences in appearance of a people in color or form often create antipathies, although sometimes strangeness proves attractive.

I don't like the Portuguese. They have small, wicked eyes.

The Chinese are a warlike people. I don't like their looks. I especially don't like the way the men wear their hair, all shaved off except on top, and they wear a braid down their back.

I like the Chinese and the way their eyes slant. Some of them look like they are hard to get along with and spooky and all that, others look like they are so nice. I like to look into their eyes.

*Thrift.* The thrift and industry of a people create favorable attitudes toward them.

The Norwegians are a fine people. They are helpful, thrifty, and industrious. They work hard for everything they get, and they save.

*Education.* Children respect a people they consider cultured and educated.

The English are highly educated and highly civilized. They are very aristocratic in the way they dress. They always wear high silk hats and carry a cane.

*History.* An interesting historical background creates favorable attitudes.

I like the Italians for their fine art. The Romans have a very fine history. They had conquered all the known world. We studied them in history.

*Good Citizenship.* Children hold up their own standards of good citizenship as a measuring stick for their attitudes toward other nations.

The Dutch are good citizens. They live in a little country so they have to work together. They are friendly with all nations. They are the kind that wouldn't even like a boxing fight, I mean a prize fight, because they are so peaceful and love each other so much.



*Famous People.* A knowledge of famous citizens of a race may result in favorable attitudes toward that race.

The Polish must be a very educated people. They have many famous musicians. Paderewski came from Poland.

*Cheerfulness.* Children like jolly, cheerful people, who have good times.

The Irish are a cheerful people. They make friends with everybody. I learned in geography that if an American person, whom they never saw before, would come along, they would shake hands with him. They are as civilized as we are but they have a lot of peasants who are not as civilized because they have not had as much education.

*Sports.* Boys, especially, are attracted to a race because of its sports.

The Canadians are a nice race of people. You never hear about them doing bad things as about some races. They are jolly; are good in all kinds of winter sports; are good athletes.

#### REASONS CHILDREN GIVE FOR DISCRIMINATING BETWEEN VARIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

*Factors Considered for Each Relationship.* The personal interviews show that twelve-year-old children consider different factors in their reactions toward different relationships. Not only do they differentiate between intimate and more distant relationships but the degree of social distance between the relationships varies with different races.

*Cousin.* In many instances they are willing to allow all relationships but that of cousin. Often they cannot give a reason for not wanting to have members of a certain race for cousin but express a feeling that they would not want them for that relationship. Such factors as religion,

race, language, geographical proximity, education, customs, a feeling of nearness to them, cleanliness, color, and generosity, are mentioned.

*Roommate.* When asked whether they would like to have a member of another race as roommate many children draw back slightly and say, "No, I just wouldn't want them. I have no reason." Other children do not show this aloofness. The reasons given by the children for their decisions as to this relationship are similarity to themselves, trustworthiness, cleanliness, religion, color, race, a feeling of nearness to them, fear of disease, and fear of being disturbed.

*Chum.* A chum is considered an intimate friend but not quite so close as a cousin or roommate. The following factors appear to affect consideration of this relationship: education, customs, trustworthiness, fairness in play, cheerfulness, ability to teach things, ability to have fun together, color, race, and language.

*Playmates.* The children questioned showed a desire for new experiences and expressed willingness to play with children of other races. The reason most often given for wanting members of other races for playmates is the opportunity to learn new games. The children mention interest in different customs, stories, and playthings, and the desire to have someone to play with, especially where there are a few children on the street. They state that they do not have to be close to a person in order to have him for a playmate. The only reasons given for rejecting members of other races as playmates are the desire not to have them near and the fear that they might quarrel or not play fair.

*Neighbors.* The relationship of neighbor is not considered very intimate, but to be acceptable, neighbors must be good citizens who will not trouble those about them. Children sometimes say they would like members of other races

for neighbors because there are not many children on their street and they want additional playmates. The children feel that they do not have to associate with their neighbors so long as they are quarrelsome and are not clean. The factors of race and color, however, are considered by many.

*Classmates.* Social democracy is probably more preached than practiced in the adult world. In their social contacts children often imitate their elders in this respect.

In the classroom, however, democracy is approved. Here the children feel free to enjoy interesting contacts with members of foreign races without the criticism of public opinion that might result from more intimate relationships. They are interested in gaining first-hand information about the customs and games of various races. That the presence of other nationalities would be helpful in the study of geography is a prevalent idea. The children indicate that it is only fair, and not at all harmful, to have members of other races in the same class with them.

*Schoolmate.* Most children do not mind having foreign schoolmates. They feel that the school is a public institution which should in all fairness be open to everyone. They do not care who attends it since it is unnecessary to associate with members of other races whom they do not like.

It can be seen that the children are aware of different degrees of social distance. This is shown by their reactions toward various relationships in terms of the requirements for such contacts.

*Summary and Interpretation.* (1) For a considerable number of the thirty-nine races listed in the Indicator, the children had no direct personal contacts. In these instances their judgments were based in large part on the externals of racial differences, including such matters as the quaintness or grotesqueness of the customs and costumes of a people, the way in which a certain language is supposed to

sound, and the physical appearance, real or supposed, of members of a race.

(2) Occasionally racial attitudes seem to derive from more fundamental insights with reference to the institutions and the moral and intellectual level of a given race or nation. The religion of a racial group in some instances aroused interest or repugnance. Such reasons, however, were seldom stated clearly.

(3) Regardless of the reasons given for attitudes, the statements of the children have two rather marked characteristics. In the first place, they indicate a highly personal, subjective set in nearly every instance. Second, the factual basis of these attitudes is in almost every instance superficial and in a great many cases erroneous. A number of instances of erroneous beliefs can easily be found in the examples given in this paper.

(4) With regard to races familiar to children through personal contacts, reactions differed very widely. In general, the attitude assumed appears dependent almost exclusively upon these personal relationships and to be untouched by any broader considerations. Thus, the Negro race seems to be judged wholly by the behavior of the few representatives personally known. A distinction is frequently made between German Jews and Russian Jews, the community in which the school is located including many of both groups.

(5) The children have at their command no general principles or ideals regarding racial differences and relationships, to serve for guidance in facing the difficult problems in this field of life.

(6) In contrast to the assurance with which these children just entering, or about to enter, adolescence express themselves regarding racial attitudes, this study reveals marked deficiencies in their training and abilities.

## THE INTERVIEWING APPROACH TO THE NEW POOR<sup>1</sup>

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A SYSTEM of social diagnosis relating to the problems of "chronic dependency" and of personal and social disorganization has been in process of development for many years. The problems of the "new poor" are a relatively recent phenomenon. Few or no studies on a large scale have been made of the social and psychological reaction-patterns developed by the "new poor" upon sudden loss of income. Since so little is known about the situation, few satisfactory methods of analysis and therapy have been devised to date. The following typical experiences of employable and willing workers out of employment may provide the interviewer with some insight into the emotional and social, family and economic problems of this group:

### *Own Story of Mr. Allamy:*

I have been unemployed for a year and a half. I am a machinist by trade. I never thought I would be idle more than a month. This is the first time in my working life when I had to sit around and do nothing. The time drags until you count not the days but the hours and minutes. Have you ever been idle when you had no desire to do so? It's nothing short of a plague. Let me tell you, too, I had little patience with people who seemed radical, revolutionary, but those thoughts force themselves upon you when you sit at home, income cut off and demands for food, clothing and shelter remain the same, to say nothing of the things which we had to give up as luxuries, but which we were forced into using "to raise our standard of living."

<sup>1</sup> See Pauline V. Young, *Interviewing in Social Work*, chap. VIII (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.). In Press.



When I quit working we fell back on our savings. These have lasted several months. Then my wife went to work as a housekeeper and I was left as cook and homemaker for our three children. You can imagine the state of affairs at the house. When the wife returns Sundays she puts us straight for the week. She makes \$50 a month and we live on that.

We gave up meats and fish and started a vegetarian diet. Then we gave up our house and moved into a shack for \$12 a month. It's no place to raise children in. When the wind blows it makes little difference whether we are indoors or out-of-doors. On cold nights it is impossible to remain warm and we must heat up bricks and flat irons to put in the children's beds, but the worst of it is when it rains. Well, you get what you pay for, and we can pay only \$12 a month.

When I worked I was able to support my widowed mother. I had to send her to my niece; but she again had to send her to my sister, and the poor old lady is driven every month somewhere else.

The women folks lose respect for you when you have to look into their hands for a dollar. Well, maybe they don't, but I am too sensitive and it's getting too much for me. I tell you I cannot stand this idleness much longer. I will either smash my head or that of somebody else. It is not right for those of us who want to work and can work to sit and sit and gradually go down the scale.

Before long nobody will want me. I am losing my skill and muscle and heart. Things in the shop are changing, and I am losing out fast.

My wife is so discouraged nothing matters much to her. Live or die, health or sickness—have lost their distinctions. She is cynical and sees no sacredness in life.

The children were always a great pleasure to her. She took pride and joy raising them. They were greatly attached to her. She is away now most of the time. The children can hardly find themselves without her. I try to do for them all I can, but I can't give them the tenderness which their mother gave them. The children have lost a great deal of the joy and laughter. They are too serious and feel lonely, heart-hungry, you might say.

I must admit that I am growing more and more resentful toward the world. Something is wrong some place, if a man of my experience, a man who can and wants to work, must kill time doing nothing. I resent doing woman's work at home and it's very hard for me to

do it. We dropped our life insurance policies. Should anything happen to us, we must be buried like paupers.<sup>2</sup>

*Own Story of Mr. Mason:*

My greatest difficulty is a severe inferiority complex. I often reason with myself that I am not the only man out of work, not the only head of a family without funds for the necessities of life, not the only worker without a real job for three years, but many things around me indicate that I am a failure, if I am to speak frankly to you. You start a discussion with a man who has a job or even with a welfare worker and he will tell you that most men out of work are "borderline cases," whatever we are to understand by that. I've come to believe it. The country must have some ten million "borderline cases."

At home, the women folks look down on me; I have failed to function as a man, as a provider. I am still the husband, the father, the "man of the house," but my opinion does not count; my presence is often too much for them. They are used to seeing me off in the morning and back in the evening. The household is not organized to see an idle man around all day under their feet. I appreciate their situation, but what should I do with myself? It costs money to go places.

And let me tell you, the kids get notions in school that if their fathers are unable to provide for them, they will be provided for just the same. My influence over them is greatly diminished; my word doesn't count with them. Perhaps I haven't the power in my voice when my head is down. I know my boy can get a job easier than I can.

What do you think all these things do to me? They certainly don't add to my self-esteem, to my happiness. At times I boil inside, but most of the time I feel licked. I never imagined that the peace of my home and the control over my children depended on my job. Why, the job just rules your life. Oh, we are still a family, but the ties are greatly weakened.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> California State Unemployment Commission, *Report and Recommendations*, 109. (Interview held and recorded by writer.)

<sup>3</sup> Pauline V. Young, "What's on the Mind of the New Poor?" *Manuscript*. See also California State Unemployment Commission, *Report and Recommendations*, "The Human Cost of Unemployment," 87-146.

It is pointed out by various agencies who recognize the problems of the "new poor" that mere giving of relief or any makeshift plans which these families may adopt fail to provide them with that sense of security and that feeling of self-respect which comes from holding a job.

Perhaps our first contribution to those whom we are attempting to assist comes through a recognition of the fact that the problem is beyond us in that we have not resources to meet the entire need. We must make the best of a bad situation; there will be suffering which we cannot relieve, hardship that we cannot soften. When we have accepted that fact we become less tense and are more free to do that which is of the essence of case work—to individualize those who come to us for help. Moreover, when we admit that we cannot cope with the situation in its entirety, we have no need to deaden our sympathies and rationalize our failure to do the work that we would like to do by projecting responsibility for our over-crowded offices on to the applicants.<sup>4</sup>

Prolonged unemployment and idleness, necessity of accepting relief, and the constant feeling of insecurity tend to thwart the personality and outlook of many an individual. Some become "marginal men" or "borderline cases" who fear "to take their place in society" as previously.

The interviewer is necessarily concerned with certain major interrelated problems of emotional, social, and economic significance to the family.

1. What material emergency situations are the "new poor" facing when income is cut off or drastically curtailed? Does family need food, shelter, clothing, medical care?

2. What "makeshifts" has family adopted and what resources has it tapped before applying for aid?

3. What "small economies" has family learned to make (re-modeling clothes, furniture, substitution of "wants" for real necessi-

<sup>4</sup> Eleanor Neustaedter, "The Social Case Worker and Industrial Depression," *The Family*, January, 1931, 275-76.

ties, utilization of "left-overs," exchange of articles or services with friends and neighbors)?

4. What social and emotional problems have arisen because of dependency, of idleness, and of the necessity of adopting makeshifts?

5. What alterations in personality have these people undergone in the new process of adjustment to a new and unaccustomed mode of living? Have they become cynical, embittered, or have they accepted the new situation as a challenge to them, or have they taken the situation for granted?

6. How have wage earners tried to earn a living when thrown out of their vocations? What other occupations are they fitted to enter?

7. Are the wage earners "blaming" themselves for their inability to support the family? What tensions and mental conflicts have developed as a result?

8. How do the various members of the family define their new status? Are they identifying themselves with old friends, and old organizations, or are they seeking new "meeting grounds?"

9. Which members of the family are able to make the adjustment to new conditions? Which are not? What emotional consequences result from such adjustments?

10. To what extent is the family as a whole attempting to "hold on" to old standards and customs, fearing to face present reality? Emotional consequences?

11. Can the family face the new situation rationally and sanely?

12. What habits, activities, and possessions did the family give up since loss of income? Emotional reaction to each?

13. What forms of recreation does the family follow at present? Degree of satisfaction derived from them?

14. What changes have proven profitable or unprofitable to the various members?

15. What plans for the future does the family have for the adult members, for the children?

16. What philosophy of life has the family formulated as a result of the new conditions faced? What philosophy of life does it impart to the children?

17. What is the family's philosophy of the economic crisis? What is its knowledge of current events?

A thorough knowledge of the emotional, social, and economic circumstances of each family may not be of value in redirecting the energies of particular cases, but it is an indispensable minimum if the "new poor" as a whole are to be studied, understood, and their situations defined or re-defined to them. A lack of a thorough knowledge of what happens to families when suddenly called upon to revise their mode of living makes us incapable of knowing what the social agency can contribute outside of material relief.

These "new poor" often remark: "It is easier to go hungry than to be misunderstood"; "Every grocery order should contain a package of quinine to get us out of the misery"; "Every bit of food brings us closer to the pauperization level"; "Soon we will have our sensibilities deadened and come to think that the only way to eat is through the charities."

As it is often remarked it matters not so much what happens to a person, but what matters is how he takes it. Some families feel themselves seriously compromised when they are thrown out of employment. Tensions arise not so much because of loss of income but because of fear of losing status in the social group or even in one's family. The interviewer under those circumstances may explain the universality of the depression and the millions of people involved in every section of the country and abroad. Knowing that the problems are not unique to them, they do not tend to regard themselves as outcasts. The interviewer may also find it expedient to explain that self-respect, social status in the community, and success in society no longer depend chiefly on material values, and that the individual is no longer judged only by his financial success, but also by his ability to "weather the storm," to stand behind his children and his country, lending his support to them in the darkest hours of need.



Opinion is divided among social workers whether an attempt should be made to treat the "unemployment cases" of the new poor as if they needed social or personal service. Some workers maintain that most frequently other social and emotional problems harass the family upon the onset of unemployment and although the emergency relief workers are in a position to touch these problems only superficially, they are able, nevertheless, to minimize in some measure the emotional tensions besetting the family. Alice Canfield, of the Los Angeles County Welfare Department, strikes a different keynote in the approach to the "new poor."

Frankly, I think it a terrible thing, of far-reaching consequences, to turn jobless men and their defenseless families into public social cases; to pry into their private lives; to run their lives!

My conception of the province of the social worker is that he or she has no right to probe the spiritual, intellectual, and moral problems of any individual or family, unless that individual or family has endangered public safety or public health, or plunged, *in normal times*, into chronic pauperism. I do not believe any social worker has either the right or the "omniscience" to attempt to weigh the extent to which spiritual or intellectual limitation, or moral defection, has contributed to placing an individual in the ranks of the unemployed at this time, when unemployment is an almost universal problem.

Such intimate problems of the spiritual, intellectual, or moral sphere are matters upon which each individual may seek advice from religious or educational sources, if he or she so chooses, and only then.<sup>5</sup> . . . She [the social worker] has no inalienable right, through talent or experience, to supervise the lives of persons whose primary problem in these baffling times is unemployment.

Such supervision is destructive of the self-respect, responsibility, morale, good citizenship, and human dignity of the supervised, who become cringers, malingerers, defeatists. They may fill their stom-

<sup>5</sup> [Professional workers profess to foresee the time when the social worker will by education, training, and status be the very person to whom many harassed individuals will most naturally turn for advice in trouble. P.V.Y.]

achs from day to day, but their spirits are breaking. And even their children, the citizens of the future, cannot hold their heads up, as the whole family vibrates to those mournful words, "We're on the charities now!" . . .

Others have observed, however, that as these unemployed employables begin to realize that stability, industry, vigor, resourcefulness, thrift have "lost their market" and no longer stand them in good stead, they become bewildered, discouraged, dazed, and disheartened. They develop many tensions and emotional conflicts and need the services of a social agency, if for no other purpose than to "get it off their chest!"

Dr. Pratt points out that when a family is badly discouraged, when there is conflict and fear of the future, some member may express his desperation by belligerency, sarcasm, hostility. If the true motives behind these depressions are understood the interviewer will never "respond in kind and produce a needlessly painful situation all around."<sup>6</sup> Frequently a family, trying to keep up appearances, will cling to some article of furniture,—a piano, or a refrigerator, or a set of books which might be converted into cash,—because it still expresses former status, and the good old times. "The retention of a few bits of once fine furniture" may bolster up the morale of those people who continue to live psychologically on their former level. Few interviewers at present fail to appreciate the value of those people who "refuse to cringe under distress" and who "continue to keep up a brave interest in cultural and artistic things and display a nonservile manner toward those who investigate them for relief."<sup>7</sup>

Interviewers dealing with the "new poor" have found the following suggestions helpful in their approach:

<sup>6</sup> George K. Pratt, *Morale: The Mental Hygiene of Unemployment*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 50.

I can generally talk them into "keeping fit" until the opportunity does arrive. Often they brace up for the sake of the morale at home, for the sake of the children who do not know what it's all about. At times, just a heart-to-heart talk will relieve tensions and buoy up an idle man. But above all, it is our attitude, our spirit and confidence which we bring into the home that counts the most. When I am tired and discouraged because "prosperity has not turned the corner" I unconsciously impart these feelings to the family. It's we, social workers, who need to hold our heads up first. . . .

I get results when I suggest that the unemployed father spend more time with his children whom he cannot enjoy when working long hours. "Play with your youngsters, take them out for a walk, teach them to be useful citizens, make up in personal relationships what they lack along material lines," I indicate to them. . . .

I have been successful in occupying the minds and the hands of the idle unemployed by suggesting tasks around the house, the yard, the neighbor's house. . . .

Often it is possible to arrange for visits to the branch libraries to read or look at magazine pictures, or for visits to recreation centers. . . .

I think that we concentrate too much on the unemployed man and not enough on his wife, who has to tolerate him all day long under her feet. I interpret the husband to the wife and vice versa, and lay some foundation for new relationships.

## FOLK SONGS IN CHINA

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CHINA, being a country with a territory one third bigger than that of the United States of America, with a large population and with a history several thousands of years old, is naturally a great laboratory for the study of folk songs. The characteristics of these songs can be summarized as follows:

1. Folk songs appear unconsciously. Never is there a conscious effort to compose a folk song, especially for a definite occasion. From the first acts by which people try to sing these songs in order to amuse themselves, each act looks no farther than the immediate satisfaction, that is, for entertainment. And from the recurrent practices arise habits for individuals and later groups to sing these songs. But these results are consequences that were never intended and of which the people were never conscious. They are not noticed until they have long existed and it is still longer before they are appreciated.

2. All origins are lost in mystery. We never can see the first member of the series. It is only by analysis and inference that we can form any conception of the beginning of a folk song which we are so eager to find.

3. The author is always unknown. Just as folk ways, authors of the different folk songs are unknown, despite the fact that they spread among the people in the country as rapidly as if there were authors and regular disseminators. According to Mr. Liu Ching-yen, author of *Women and Folksongs* (in Chinese language), Chinese folk songs mostly started first among women, because women in general are more emotional and many of the social insti-

tutions, either favorable or unfavorable according to the theme of these folk songs, are closely connected with the female sex.<sup>1</sup>

4. These folk songs often suggest a strain of improvement toward better adaptation of means to ends, and yet, as explained in the previous paragraph, the innovators or renovators are never known.

5. They are subject to a strain of consistency with each other in different localities, despite the fact that the regions are separated by mountains and rivers or other natural hindrances. The reason is that the people's beliefs and heritages are fundamentally analogous. And the fact that the country is divided as a result of the lack of easy communication means has increased the number of folk songs, however similar their meaning may be.

6. A great many songs have become interwoven with traditions, as it is natural for children to learn them when these songs are sung as nursery rhymes. And the combined factors, traditions and folk songs, constitute coercive force which directs society along fixed lines.

7. Folk songs tend to form we-groups and others-groups. Insiders in a we-group, who are in a relation of peace, order, and industry to each other, are well spoken of in the folk songs, and members of others-groups are unduly blamed.<sup>2</sup>

8. Folk songs develop ethnocentrism, which is a view of things in which one's own group is the center of every thing and all others are rated with reference to it. As each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders, members of that group think that their own folk songs are the best and most appropriate.

<sup>1</sup> (Shanghai, China: The Commercial Press), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> W. G. Sumner expresses a similar view in regard to the nature of folk ways.



9. Many folk songs are patriotic in nature. Old ethnocentrism, jealousy, vanity, truculency, and ambition are the strongest elements in patriotism, and such sentiments are easily awakened in a crowd. Hence, the popularity of folk songs, which are formed on the basis of these sentiments.

10. Folk songs are spontaneous. It is hardly known who lead today in devising and in disseminating them. They come into existence continually at the present time.

11. It appears as if there were a mind in the crowd that was different from the minds of the individuals, and that this mind composes them. It appears as if there were a mind in the crowd, because the folk songs are transmitted with an unusual speed in the crowd, because the components of the crowd accept the folk songs without much questioning as to the authenticity of the songs, and because the crowd takes the meaning of the folk songs seriously. The individual mind accepts the songs with discrimination, although the effect of the songs upon the individual minds varies.

12. Folk songs operate on people by suggestion. Repeated suggestion produces familiarity, just as many teachers and parents raise their children by means of suggestion; and newspapers, popular literature, and popular oratory all use suggestion in order to appeal to the public.

13. Folk songs are made by accident. While there is never a conscious effort to compose a folk song, while the author of a folk song is always unknown, and while people learn to sing a folk song at random, the folk songs are made by accident rather than by conscious efforts.

14. Many of them, however, are "right," conforming to people's beliefs, ideals, and actual practices. For instance, there are a number of songs with the virtue of women, the marriage system, the relation between parents

and children, and the relation between husbands and wives as their theme.

15. Many of them are "true," reflecting ills of life, and teaching forethought. While there are folk songs reflecting ills of life and society such as gambling, smoking, and drinking, there are others that teach the idea of nemesis.

16. Many exercise taboo on certain customary practices and general conduct of the people.

17. Many of them are unrecorded, as their value is scarcely recognized by historians and anthropologists.

18. A great number of folk songs have as their theme, social problems, such as sex distinction, the marriage institution, women's foot-binding, virginity of girls on farms, and the like.

Thus, crude and vulgar as they may be, they not only affect the thoughts and ideals of the existing generation, but will also influence those of the generations to come. The fact that many of them have been sung as nursery rhymes has instilled the meaning of these songs into the minds of the young. While a great number of them have been forgotten in port cities, which have already been too much influenced by foreign rhymes and rhythms, they are still maintaining their popularity among the rural population and other rustics in interior provinces.

## SOCIAL THOUGHT IN NEGRO NOVELS

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UNTIL recent years poetry has been the favorite medium of literary expression employed by the Negro writers. Consequently the number of novels produced by the Negro artists has not been very great and the novels that have appeared do not adequately interpret the life of the race. Before the Civil War a few novels such as William Wells Brown's *Clotel*, *Clotella*, and *Miralda* appeared. During this period numerous narratives, mixtures of fiction and personal experiences, were published at the suggestion or under the editorship of the white abolitionists. Since the Civil War the Negro writers have shown an increasing interest in fiction, and at present the ambition of most of these writers is to produce a reputable novel. During the period from the Civil War to the World War, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Charles W. Chesnutt, and W. E. B. DuBois were outstanding among the Negro novelists. Since the World War an increasing number of Negro fiction writers has produced novels that are important for sociological analysis. Chief among these writers are Walter F. White, Jessie Fauset, Claude McKay, Nella Larson, J. W. Johnson, Langston Hughes, Rudolph Fisher, and Countee Cullen.

From the point of view of the selection of characters there are two countertendencies evident in modern Negro fiction. No attempt is made to prove that these countertendencies are peculiar to Negro fiction, for undoubtedly they are merely expressions of two larger tendencies in the inclusive community. Novelists of one group employ the refined and educated mulatto type as the leading charac-

ter. This faction frequently reacts negatively to anything degrading to the race regardless of its veracity. By neglecting the offensive side of Negro culture and by emphasizing the best aspects of the race it is hoped that the Negro's status may ultimately be elevated. A few illustrations of this tendency will suffice. W. E. B. DuBois in *The Dark Princess* uses an aristocratic woman as the prominent character; Walter F. White in *The Fire in the Flint* utilizes a doctor, and in *Flight* his story is centered around an attractive Creole girl; Jessie Fauset in *There is Confusion* selects a dancer; and Nella Larsen in *Passing* chooses a doctor, and in *Quicksand* she selects a school teacher for the dominant rôle.

Novelists in a second group take the opposite point of view and select their characters from the proletarian group. No attempt is made to emphasize the best in Negro culture, but stress is placed upon the dirty and vulgar aspects of their life. Rudolph Fisher in *The Walls of Jericho* uses piano movers and working men as the stellar characters, and in the short story, *The City of Refuge*, he employs dope peddlers; Claude McKay in *Home to Harlem* weaves his tale around prostitutes and other immoral Negro personalities, and in *Banjo* he describes the illiterate and obscene inhabitants of an isolated cultural area, the "Ditch" in Paris. Both Fisher and McKay malign the educated and refined Negroes who approximate white norms.

The best Negroes are *not* the society Negroes. I am not writing for them, nor the "poke-chop-"abstaining Negroes, nor the Puritan Friends of Color, nor the Negrophiles, nor the Negrophiles. I am writing for people who can stand a real story no matter where it comes from.<sup>1</sup>

"You are like many Negro intellectuals who are belly-aching about

<sup>1</sup> Claude McKay, *Banjo*, p. 117.

race," said Ray. "What's wrong with you-all is your education. You get a white man's education and learn to despise your own people. You read biased history of the whites concerning the colored and primitive peoples, and it thrills you just as it does a white boy belonging to a great white nation.

"You're a lost crowd, you educated Negroes, and you will only find yourself in the roots of your own people. You can't choose as your models the haughty-minded educated white youths of a society living solid on its imperial conquests. Such pampered youths can afford to despise the sweating white brutes of the lower order."<sup>2</sup>

Even though the reading public is chiefly interested in Negro fiction for its own sake or for the story that is told, this fiction is of tremendous importance for the sociological functions that it performs. In general, modern Negro fiction is characterized by unrest and dissatisfaction and consequently racial consciousness is dominant in many of the novels. This unrest results from the frustration of the efforts of the Negroes to satisfy their wishes. Negroes attempt to expand their personalities and function in tabooed fields; they attempt to participate equally with the dominating race; they demand recognition and fair competition in the major institutions of the social order. The failure of practically all of these attempts and the refusal of their demands have greatly increased their unrest, which gets an expression in their novels. An illustration of the unrest described in Negro fiction may be found in Claude McKay's *Banjo*. In this novel the author either implies or expresses explicitly that the Negro can find but few satisfactory relationships in American society, so he has shifted his hopes to Europe. According to McKay, Paris was once the paradise for the blacks but mistreatment in this city is forcing the Negroes to seek other havens of rest. The final conclusion is that the Negroes will find no rest until they enter heaven.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 200-1.



This unrest in Negro fiction is emphasized by the use of characters from the mulatto or hybrid group. Mulattoes are marginal men who occupy a peculiar status; they are neither white nor black. In many cases they are unwilling to identify themselves with the Negro group, and they are refused admittance to the white group. Consequently the unrest among these mixed-blood personalities is usually intense. An excerpt from the fiction of Charles W. Chesnutt is a case illustrative of this trend.

"I know," he would say, "that the white people lump us all together as negroes, and condemn us all to the same social ostracism. But I don't accept this classification, for my part, and I imagine that, as the chief party in interest, I have a right to my opinion. People who belong by half or more of their blood to the most virile and progressive race of modern times have as much right to call themselves white as others have to call them negroes."<sup>3</sup>

The Negro novel is a favorite, as well as a powerful, medium of social criticism and in this rôle it presents a message and advocates a cause. Those Negro writers who use the novel as a vehicle of social criticism and condemnation express the attitude of their many followers. Negro novelists like DuBois, White, Fauset, McKay, Fisher, and Larsen arraign practically all of the cultural institutions in the social order, pointing out defects and implying reforms. These Negro writers fight incessantly against the maintenance of a social organization that will not accommodate educated Negro doctors, lawyers, and artists. They criticize the discrimination against Negro students in the white universities, they criticize the discrimination against Negro athletes, and they criticize the discrimination against the Negro in any activity of life. They rail about the present social stratification and the lack of social mobility on the part of the Negro. In fact, a casual read-

<sup>3</sup> *The Wife of His Youth*, pp. 94-95.

ing of the current Negro novels will show them to be shot through with expressed or implied criticism of the existing social order.

Negro novels may be important in the moulding of public sentiment and opinion. These fictional writings are effective devices for the manufacturing and the directing of public opinion. Usually, however, these novelists simply express the opinions current in their social world; they give literary form to the existing ideas, beliefs, and prejudices. This formulation, however, is an important factor in subsequent opinion and practice. The Negro novel thus becomes a vehicle for the communication of the current opinion; it focuses attention upon an issue and thus becomes a causal factor in group behavior. The effectiveness of the Negro novel as a moulder of public opinion has not been measured; it is, perhaps, not susceptible to measurement. It is possible, however, to give numerous examples of white novels that appear to have had a definite influence on the course of social events. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a powerful weapon in the antislavery agitation; Dickens' novels calling attention to abuses in prisons and schools were influential forces in initiating and promoting penal and educational reform; and Dixon's *Leopard Spots* and *The Clansman* articulated and perhaps formed and intensified prejudice toward the Negro. It is reasonable then to assume that Negro novels will be influential in the moulding of public sentiment and opinion.

Finally, the Negro novels furnish important data for the study of the subjective aspect of the Negro personality and culture. Negro fiction gives a valuable, if not an infallible, account of the psychological and sociological experiences of certain Negro groups. These novels reveal the social isolation and accommodation of the Negroes and the changing attitudes and motives of this group. They

also express the friction and conflict of the races and the growing racial consciousness of the Negro people. It might be said that this Negro fiction, along with the other literary productions of the Negro writers, is the only source for the understanding of the subjective aspect of Negro culture other than direct and intimate association with members of the Negro race.

## SOCIAL NEARNESS BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES

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THE SOCIAL-DISTANCE relations of the United States and Latin America were characterized, until 1932, by abnormal vertical and horizontal distances. In 1933 this situation was suddenly altered by the deliberate efforts of the United States, by the "good-neighbor policy" of President Roosevelt. In order to appreciate the new tendency towards inter-American nearness, it is necessary to review briefly the past social distances that have divided the New World.

*Past Distances.* Between the United States and Latin America there have always existed, in addition to a great cultural difference, an almost total lack of contacts and a profound mutual ignorance. This being the case, each side has always been ready to misunderstand the other and permit a grave social-distance situation to develop from any stimulus.

Such a stimulus to wide social distance has been provided, repeatedly, by the official actions of the United States government. Successive presidents have imposed vertical distance on Latin America by means of a superior naval force, and have wounded Latin American pride with a patronizing Monroe Doctrine.<sup>1</sup> In 1823 the United States assumed a protective attitude toward the republics to the south; between 1824 and 1853 it acquired territory at the expense of its neighbors; in 1898 it made a protectorate out of Cuba when that island was struggling for in-

<sup>1</sup> Hiram Bingham, *The Monroe Doctrine, An Obsolete Shibboleth* (New Haven, 1915).

dependence. Of course, none of these actions was favorably received in Latin America.

The first serious estrangement came with Theodore Roosevelt's assumption of "international eminent domain" in the matter of the Panama Canal. The strangely prompt recognition of the insurrectionary government in Panama, —this was a deliberate disregard of Colombia's sovereignty and hence a strong expression of vertical disdain on the part of the United States. To this imposition of vertical distance Latin America naturally responded with distrust and horizontal distance.<sup>2</sup>

These already wide distances were further aggravated by the armed intervention of the United States in the Caribbean. Because of the complete lack of mutual knowledge, this "interventionism" gave rise to an alarming social-distance differential. The United States, with the fixed idea that Latin Americans were disorderly, viewed its Caribbean policy as a benevolent mission to abate revolutionary nuisances. For its part Latin America, with the stereotype of "Yankee imperialism," considered the interventions as a process of sending marines to extort usury for New York banks. The attitude of the United States was one of extreme vertical superiority toward Latin America; and the attitude of Latin America can best be described as "yanquiphobia" or excessive horizontal distance toward the Colossus of the North.<sup>3</sup> This distorted situation—great vertical distance on one hand and great horizontal distance on the other—persisted in the New World until 1933.

<sup>2</sup> C. J. Haring, *South America Looks at the United States* (New York, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> *The United States and the Caribbean*,—three lectures by Chester Lloyd Jones, Henry Kittredge Norton, and Parker Thomas Moon,—gives an excellent picture of this differential. Part 2 (by Norton) presents the traditional viewpoint of the United States and Part 3 (by Moon) explains and justifies the attitude of Latin America.



*Inter-American Nearness.* At the opening of the Montevideo Conference in December, 1933, "yanquiphobia" was still strong, and plans had been made to stampede the conference into an anti-United States-imperialism meeting. But the United States had changed its attitude of superiority and aloofness. President Roosevelt sent Secretary of State Hull to the Pan-American Conference for the express purpose of cultivating friendly relations with Latin America. Mr. Hull and his delegation, by taking second place in everything and by discussing frankly the mistakes of interventionism, succeeded in giving Latin America a "boost in status." And this "boost in status" naturally produced good will (the shortening of horizontal distance) on the part of Latin America.<sup>4</sup>

The new policy of creating inter-American nearness was officially proclaimed in the United States by President Roosevelt himself, in his Wilson memorial address. Speaking over a nation-wide broadcast, the President analyzed inter-American social distances. First, he pointed out the relation between interventionism and "yanquiphobia,"—between vertical distance imposed by force and the resulting horizontal distance. Stating that the definite policy of the United States was thenceforward opposed to armed intervention, Mr. Roosevelt renounced the past attitude of vertical superiority in these words: "The maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving upon the United States alone."<sup>5</sup>

Not only did the President cancel the past vertical superiority of the United States, but he gave another "boost in status" to Latin American countries, putting them on the same level as the United States:

<sup>4</sup> Ernest Gruening, "Pan-Americanism Reborn; Seventh Conference of American States, Montevideo," *Current History*, December, 1933, pp. 529-34.

<sup>5</sup> Quotations from Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Address to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation" are taken from the text in *The Los Angeles Examiner*, December 29, 1933, p. 1.

It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern; and the point to stress is that in such an event it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors.

Finally, the President spoke of the birth of inter-American nearness, and praised Mr. Hull for his part in bringing about this "better state of feeling."

This rhetorical foreswearing of vertical distance was translated into action by the withdrawal of marines from the Caribbean and by the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, at the initiative of President Roosevelt. Such anti-interventionism had an immediate reaction in the shortening of horizontal distance. For example, the population of Havana, which had been staging anti-Yankee-imperialism demonstrations, held a three-day good will celebration upon the termination of the protectorate.

In the horizontal sense, this new inter-American nearness is being strengthened by a steady increase of contacts: airplane transportation, the construction of the Pan-American highway, and the growth of tourist travel. Furthermore, the Roosevelt administration is furthering its social-nearness policy<sup>6</sup> by reciprocity treaties to foster inter-American trade. Another significant illustration of the policy of the government is the project of the United States Department of State, for a hundred thousand watt short-wave radio station to communicate with Latin America!

The "good-neighbor policy" is operating, then, in two directions to create inter-American nearness: first, by boosting the status of Latin American countries in order to produce good will; and second, by improving commerce, which requires improved communication, and encouraging tourist travel in order to produce greater horizontal near-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ernest Gruening, "New Deal for Latin America?" *Current History*, January, 1934, pp. 466-70.

ness. If these forces continue to operate, the year 1950—to pick an arbitrary limit—may see a unique social-distance situation in the New World. This new situation will not be an imitation League of Nations, or a Pan-American Federation, but rather what may be called “Americanism.” This “Americanism” may be conceived as including a customs union, such as a system of reciprocity agreement; a monetary union, such as was proposed at Montevideo; a postal union, such as already exists; a transportation union, such as is rapidly developing; a bilingual union, such as education might contribute; a cultural union, such as might produce an extraordinary civilization—an American Renaissance. Perhaps this “Americanism” of the future can be defined more simply as inter-American nearness: the greatest possible sympathy and understanding between the peoples of the New World.

*Laws.* The concept of social distance, as the foregoing study indicates, can be very useful in the analysis of complex international problems. For this reason, it is advisable to formulate a few tentative laws on “social distance in the society of nations.” As an introductory generalization, one can affirm that social distance operates in the society of nations in a way similar to its operation in the society of persons. The following laws mention only nation-nation distance, but they apply equally to group distances between nations:

1. When vertical distance is imposed by one nation upon another, horizontal distance will result on the part of the nation receiving the lower status.
2. When one nation gives a second nation a boost in status, the second nation will respond with an increase of horizontal nearness toward the nation giving the boost.
3. To the extent that lack of contacts exists between two nations, to that extent is abnormal social distance apt to develop between them, for relatively unimportant causes.

And, conversely,

4. As communications and commercial relations between nations are improved, the social distances between these nations tend to be shortened.

5. As a larger nation refrains from meddling in the affairs of a smaller nation, social nearness will result on the part of the smaller nation toward the larger.

To return from the general field of social distance to the special field of this paper, in a final induction:

6. As the social distances between the United States and Latin America are shortened, the commercial relations of the former will improve, the prosperous development of the latter will be hastened, the culture of both will be enriched, and, in short, the entire New World will be benefited.

## NATIVE HAWAIIANS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

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THE TERM native Hawaiian may be used in three different and interesting senses. First, there are native Hawaiians of Polynesian origin, the direct descendants of the original builders of a Hawaiian culture on the Islands. Second, there are the part-Hawaiians, who fall into two major groups today, both of whom are different in important particulars from the full-blooded Hawaiians. One may be called Oriental-Hawaiian and the other Caucasian-Hawaiian. Third there are the new Hawaiians who are composed chiefly of all the mixed bloods on the Islands and of pure bloods of second- and third-generation classifications, who by virtue of the mixture of races and of culture that they represent are moving away from previous racial loyalties and are indirectly engaged in building up a new race on the Islands that is composed of many bloods and many cultures. While this new race is carrying forward something of the old Hawaiian blood and culture it contains so many mixtures and infiltrations that it is new, unique, distinct, and highly interesting.

1. *The full-blooded Hawaiian.* The full-blooded Hawaiian is passing from the scene of action, because formerly his death rate was high, but now because he is intermarrying with others. He still survives, but not under original native conditions. Only a few remotely located small groups remain, although there are still several thousand individuals, most of whom live under conditions markedly different from those of a hundred years ago. While many have distinct features that indicate their Hawaiian blood, yet they are living so definitely under American conditions that they cannot be said to be full-cultured Hawaiians, even though full-blooded.



The total number of Hawaiians of this classification has been declining during the past decades. Numbering perhaps 300,000 at the time that the Islands were discovered in 1778 by Captain James Cook and representing a hundred per cent of the total population, their numbers declined to 130,000 in 1832, to 70,000 in 1853, and to 21,796 (according to the figures furnished the writer by the Territorial Board of Health) in 1934.<sup>1</sup> This decline in numbers is unfortunate, especially in view of the hospitable and friendly nature of the race. Many factors are needed to explain it: succumbing to diseases brought in by Caucasians; an extensive tendency to intermarry; the great disadvantage of a people with a simple culture contacting a speeded-up business type of civilization. The use of alcoholic liquor learned from Caucasian invaders, "undoubtedly had much to do, either directly or indirectly, with the rapid decimation of their population."<sup>2</sup> The sudden collapse of the taboos in 1819 and the disowning by the Hawaiians of their traditional heritage also played a disorganizing rôle.<sup>3</sup>

While the majority still live in rural communities, the time is near when the cities will claim the majority of them. Those employed on the plantations have declined in numbers from decade to decade with the rise of the plantation system. They do not like constant routine labor and do not compete successfully with Orientals. They prefer independent activities and the freedom of nature. Those who have gone to the cities suffer many conflicts. They do not think favorably of modern business methods. Dr. Romanzo Adams, the leading authority on social conditions in Hawaii, has said:

<sup>1</sup> The figures for 1934 doubtless include a number of part-Hawaiians.

<sup>2</sup> David L. Crawford, *Paradox in Hawaii* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1933), p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> See E. S. C. Handy, *Cultural Revolution in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), pp. 25-38.

The old Hawaiians did not practice trade unless mutual present making can be called trade. Presents were made with a ceremony designed to express respect and good will and one did not avow his desire for the other man's goods as motive. Such a motive would not have been regarded as respectable. Even today the profit-motive is something that is unworthy of a good man. An old fashioned Hawaiian man must divide the family supplies with a relative or friend in need and hence he can not even make a start toward the accumulation of wealth. If in business as a merchant he would feel it necessary to extend credit to the needy rather than to the good payers and then he would be ashamed to press a poor man for payment. To the Hawaiians the virtues of the hard-boiled, profit-seeking business man are things to be ashamed of; their own virtues are adverse to business success.<sup>4</sup>

It was exceedingly difficult for the native Hawaiian to be moved out of a simple agricultural life "with never a thought about profits into an industrialized farming, the whole objective of which was profits and a system in which he worked for wages and was more like a cog in a great machine."<sup>5</sup>

As the adults were freed from the old Hawaiian mores many of them fell victims to disorganization. Even today the youths who break away entirely from the control of their elders "follow impulses or short sighted plans" and are subject to the temptations of alluring vice that are found in modern life, and they fall into many forms of delinquency.

In the political situation in the Islands the part-Hawaiian has been dominant. In voting he classifies himself as Hawaiian, so that Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian together maintain a plurality.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> From a statement by Dr. Adams.

<sup>5</sup> David L. Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>6</sup> The registered voters of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian ancestry numbered 9,619 in 1910; 14,650 in 1920 (this figure includes 8,605 men and 6,045 women, the latter for the first time); and 19,858 in 1930 (10,592 men and 9,266 women). These figures may be compared with the total for the Islands which were 14,442, 26,335 and 52,149 for the years 1910, 1920, 1930, respectively. For a fuller discussion of the political trend see the excellent document by Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933).

The pure Hawaiian culture is reaching the stage where it must be sought out in museums and in the tales of old people. It is to be hoped that everything possible will be done to retain clear and accurate pictures of it in all of its significant phases.

The old Hawaiian is noted for his lack of race prejudice, and he is credited with giving the setting for the unusual degree of racial tolerance which exists in the Islands. Compared with certain areas of the world, race equality exists in Hawaii or has existed until challenged in recent years by persons of the Nordic strain.

The high and commendable degree of tolerance that the Hawaiian has shown is to be traced, perhaps, to two major characteristics. First, there are the Polynesian backgrounds of hospitality, easy-going life, and freedom from the cares of the succeeding day or century.

Second, the early Hawaiians on the Islands had lived an isolated life. They never had known race relations, for no other people had discovered their existence, until Captain Cook came. They did not know the term race in its modern sense. They had never thought of race superiority or inferiority. They had no traditions regarding race. There were no antagonizing race experiences in their social contacts or in their mores. They developed race prejudices in part from their experiences with Caucasians who introduced these prejudices into the Islands through the sense of superiority that they brought.<sup>7</sup> Competition in its various forms is also a basis of these race prejudices.

2. *The part-Hawaiian.* As a result of the sense of race equality which the old Hawaiian possessed and the lack of race prejudice, the Hawaiian woman in particular tended to marry with greater freedom than is usually the

<sup>7</sup> Romanzo Adams, "The Unorthodox Character of Race Doctrine in Hawaii," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, 28:100, May, 1934.

case with members of incoming races.<sup>8</sup> "More important was a conception of interest or advantage." Since the Caucasians often were characterized by an excess of males and since many of these males found the Hawaiian girls attractive, the race intermixture at this point developed to a noticeable degree, and there is given in the population estimates of June 30, 1934, a total of 18,169 Caucasian-Hawaiians, a little less than five per cent of a total population of about 380,000. This race mixture is partly due to the fact that the Caucasians have been "uncommonly free to marry out of their race."

The Caucasian-Hawaiian has status in the Islands, despite the fact that he is of mixed blood. Both the parental groups have status, and hence he does also. Since little prejudice exists against the older Hawaiian, and since a "nearer approach to" race equality operates in the Islands than in many quarters of the earth, the Caucasian-Hawaiian is unusually fortunate as compared with mixed bloods elsewhere.

The mixture seems to be worth while. Hawaiian and Caucasian traits are a balance to each other, at least in certain particulars. The culture of this group is largely Caucasian but developed under circumstances somewhat peculiar to the Islands. Since the mothers of many of the Caucasian-Hawaiians are Hawaiian, close connections with Hawaiian traits tend to be maintained.

The other main Hawaiian mixture is with the Chinese. The Chinese immigrants came largely as men without being accompanied by women. They too were attracted by the Hawaiian maidens, and the result comprises a very

<sup>8</sup> The degree to which intermixture is taking place in the Islands is well illustrated in the remarkably fine studies of intermarriage by Margaret Lam, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology of the University of Hawaii. In these studies she has traced the racial make-up of individuals to one thirty-second and one sixty-fourth Hawaiian.

large proportion of the people of the Islands known today as Asiatic-Hawaiians. The Chinese-Hawaiian may be considered as being relatively by far the most important of the Asiatic-Hawaiian mixtures.<sup>9</sup>

Again, the race mixture seems to be viewed on the whole as a worth while one. The Chinese-Hawaiian has the status of his Chinese father and the latter's tendency to succeed in business, and his Hawaiian mother's pleasing temperament. In him are combined some of the most prized qualities of both his father's and mother's races. He is getting ahead and making a desirable citizen in the Islands.

The Oriental-Hawaiian is an interesting cultural combination of Hawaiian, Chinese, and Caucasian. His is a combination of Chinese and Hawaiian blood and culture, but one that is developing under Caucasian environmental circumstances. Thus, he is not only different from the Caucasian-Hawaiian by virtue of Chinese factors but because his mixture is taking place under the influences of a cultural environment that introduces elements different from either of the parental cultures. He is a triple mixture in two senses. First, culturally, and second, "about one-third of the Asiatic-Hawaiians as enumerated are of triple blood mixture in that they have Caucasian ancestry also."<sup>10</sup> The result is that while his features sometimes resemble his Hawaiian forbear, sometimes a Chinese parent, and sometimes a Caucasian parent, his cultural dominance is Caucasian. He is an interesting combination of Polynesian, Mongolian, and Caucasian.

3. *The New Hawaiian.* In the race mixtures in the Islands there are many interesting special types, such as

<sup>9</sup> The other mixtures that are sometimes included under the title of Asiatic-Hawaiian are Filipino-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian, but the numbers of adults are relatively small.

<sup>10</sup> According to Dr. Romanzo Adams.



Portuguese-Porto Rican, Portuguese-Filipino, Chinese-Hawaiian-Caucasian, Filipino-Porto Rican, Filipino-Chinese-Hawaiian. The increasing number of triple mixtures with one parent belonging to one race and with the other being half one race and half another is an interesting development. Beyond this we find quadruple mixtures, and so on. A young woman in Honolulu indicated to the writer the various combinations in her make-up and then laughingly and characteristically inquired, "What does that make me?"

It is the hearty laugh that accompanies the mention of a combination of three or more races which is worth considering. The point is this, namely, that there is no racial stigma attached to being a combination of several races. In fact such a mixture seems to be viewed with a degree of pride. No special handicaps seem to occur in most cases of mixture, and hence since neither nature nor society raises any serious objections the part-Hawaiian and the triple and more complicated mixtures are surely building a new Hawaiian race. The cultural result is hybridism which contains a strong sense of loyalty to Hawaii, as an integral part of the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Even the first- and second-generation Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans may be counted as a part of the new Hawaiian race. Certainly, the second-generation Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans, who will be much freer to intermarry racially than the second generation are, will fall in line as a part of the new Hawaiian life, for cultural intermixture is evidently taking place much faster on the Islands than biological intermixture, so that by the time the new race has developed biologically, the new culture will have long since become well organized.

<sup>11</sup> Chester Rowell believes that the coming majority race in the Islands will be "a mixed one loyal primarily to Hawaii." (See Honolulu Star-Bulletin, August 15, 1934).

# OUR SCHIZOID CULTURE

READ BAIN

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## I

OUR CULTURE contains a great deal of irrational, contradictory behavior. When an individual exhibits similar symptoms, the psychiatrist calls him neurotic, or if he lacks "insight" into his difficulties, psychotic. Since most of us possess only partial insight concerning these cultural confusions, this paper may be regarded as a study of neurotic and psychotic societal behavior.<sup>1</sup>

These conflict-complexes are not characteristic of the entire culture, but are segmental in nature, i.e., certain practices and "attitudes" are representative of most members of certain groups, but, since there is seldom complete unanimity in any group and all men are multi-group members, the confusion is geometrically confounded. Only social scientists, and not all of them, are likely to attain the scientific knowledge of these societal contradictions analogous to the psychiatrist-patient relation. Whether sociologists shall be able to create a body of societal science sufficient to provide therapeutic and preventive techniques remains to be seen. When we consider the amount of societal infantility, imbecility, and violence in our culture,

<sup>1</sup> There is an enormous literature from which this thesis might be documented. Some of the more general discussions only are cited. E. Carpenter, *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*, New York, 1921 (first printed, 1891); T. Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, 1899; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*, New York, 1922; L. Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under-Man*, New York, 1923; O. Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, New York, 1926-28, two volumes; R. H. Lowie, *Are We Civilized? Human Culture in Perspective*, New York, 1929; C. M. Case, *Social Process and Human Progress*, New York, 1931; E. D. Martin, *Civilizing Ourselves: Intellectual Maturity in the Modern World*, New York, 1932; S. D. Schmalhausen, editor, *Our Neurotic Age*, New York, 1932; Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, New York, 1932.

the immediate outlook is not very encouraging.<sup>2</sup> If Williams' observations in Russia are sound, perhaps individual psychiatry will make little headway until societal mental hygiene is developed. Prevention is not only the best, but perhaps the only, cure.<sup>3</sup>

Space prohibits more than a sketch of the divisive societal behavior in our culture. The material has been organized roughly under institutional categories and is thrown into antithetical form. This does not imply that *all* people are victims of *all* these confusions, but it is contended that sufficient numbers are affected by them, frequently in groupal conflict-patterns, so that none of us can wholly escape their impact. Adequate treatment would require a monograph for each heading.

*Sex—Family—Children.* The confusion in our culture on sex is notorious. There is scarcely any official recognition of the reproductive system by church, school, or home. Birth control is widely condemned but more widely practiced. Venereal disease is still more of a moral than medical problem. The "double standard" still flourishes. Sex-attitudes oscillate from the "romantic-holy" to the "prosaic-evil." We eulogize sex and love in the abstract, but there is a great deal of furtiveness, shame, and sense of sin connected with the facts and acts of sex.

We glorify parenthood, but provide little education for prospective parents. Declining birth rate, child care outside the home, and technological specialism have largely defunctionalized women. Monogamous marriage is our ideal, but infidelity, marital maladjustment, and divorce abound. Marriage and divorce laws are anarchic and are

<sup>2</sup> See Case, *op. cit.*, Ch. VII and VIII and *Our Neurotic Age*, pp. 434-52, "We Americans: A Study in Infantilism" by E. S. Bates.

<sup>3</sup> Frankwood E. Williams in *Survey-Graphic*, "Those Crazy Russians!" "Russia a Nation of Adolescents," 68:9-14 (1932); "The Significance of Dictatorship," 68: 130-35 (1932); "Can Russia Change Human Nature?" 22:137-42 (1933).

frequently violated with impunity. Legal grounds for divorce are seldom the "real" reasons and the courts wink at collusion.

Our reliance upon mother love and maternal "instinct" results in personality distortions of both parents and children. If we would, we could cut maternal and infant death rates in half. We still control children by fear and force, but many parents, fearful of Freudian complexes and repressions, abjure all discipline and control. This is the age of the child, but we still have child labor, malnutrition, remediable defects, and preventable diseases. We have school health examinations but little treatment. We "love" children too much and too little; frequently the same child is a victim of this emotional polarity, indulged and frightened in almost the same breath.

*Economic Confusion.* Yes, we starve in the midst of plenty. We are thrifty, but also extravagant, conspicuous spenders. We praise competition, but practice merger and monopoly. Everybody has equal economic opportunity, except Negroes, immigrants, women, and the unemployed. Honesty is the best policy, but there is more graft and chicanery in business than in politics. We build irrigation projects, drain swamps, and teach scientific farming while we hire farmers to let land lie fallow. We "maintain prices" by dumping vegetables into the ocean and milk into sewers. We praise business organization but condemn and prevent labor organization. We extol quality and service, but through high pressure salesmanship and blatant advertising we sell people "cheap and nawsty" goods and services which they do not need and do not want for prices they cannot afford to pay. We pour billions into productive plants when what we already have must lie idle half the time because men cannot work unless other men can make profit out of their labor. Public service corporations

are conscienceless exploiters of the public. We laud industrial efficiency, but we put millions to work at starvation wages with hand tools although plenty of power machinery is available. We waste and exploit human and natural resources. We give heavier and more certain sentences to bank robbers than to bank wreckers. We boast of business ethics but we give power and prestige to business buccaneers.

*Political and Legal Patterns.* We profess respect for law and order, but we tolerate racketeering gangs, lynching, race riots, and privately paid industrial "police." Policemen are supposed to protect society, but they are frequently found in collusion with crooks,—and the same goes for some judges. Everybody is equal before the law, except Negroes, women, immigrants, poor people, and economic "radicals." Our penology is largely punitive and produces more recidivism than it does re-education. We value our jury system, but most juries are composed of the senile, illiterate, and dull-witted. Lawyers are trained largely at public expense to serve the public, but many of them spend most of their time with considerable success in aiding individuals and corporations to evade the law and escape its penalties. A large proportion of lawyers are more concerned with making money than with promoting justice.

We ridicule politicians in general but honor all office-holders in particular and most of us would like to be elected to something ourselves. We think of voting as the basis of democracy, but we buy and sell and miscount votes, stuff ballot boxes, prevent Negroes from voting, and seldom find more than fifty per cent of eligible voters actually registering their "will." We glorify government by the people, but corrupt machines still exist in many of our largest (and smallest) political units. We



hate and fear the state, but progressively increase and centralize its functions. We condemn "entangling alliances," but we practice "dollar diplomacy" all over the earth. We are a peaceful people, but we spend ten times as much for military purposes as for all other federal functions, enforce compulsory military training, laud and reward military heroes, glorify our military history, thrill at military music and uniforms, treat war profiteers as respectable citizens, and refuse to join the League of Nations.

*Democratic Dogmas.* Democracy is one of our most cherished ideals, but we speak of upper and lower classes, "look down on" many useful occupations, trace our genealogies, sport our coats-of-arms, marry our daughters to indigent scions of nobility, join snob societies, and shout "What we need is a Mussolini!" We are contemptuous of all things European, but we kowtow to Europe in a thousand ways as the real seat of "culchaw." Men and women are socially equal, but they are paid unequally for the same services, the laws of every state discriminate against women, while the "unwritten laws" "keep women in their place" along with Negroes and servants. We believe in the brotherhood of man, but we are full of racial, religious, economic, and numerous other prejudices and invidious distinctions. We value equality, but tolerate greater inequality of wealth and income than has ever existed in any other society. We believe freedom of speech and opinion is the very foundation of democracy, but we prevent economic radicals from speaking and even discharge teachers for expressing "dangerous" ideas.

*Philanthropy and Social Work.* Despite sound theory, our care of the socially inadequate is still dominated by almsgiving and the spirit of Lady Bountiful. We advocate rehabilitative social work, but must fight continually (and not very successfully) to keep social work from de-

generating into mere relief. We possess a "poverty complex" which demands that relief recipients must grovel and be "thankful" for their mere-subsistence doles. They seldom receive cash and frequently the grocery orders must be filled at stores where the prices are higher than elsewhere. It is disgraceful to receive charity, but it is noble to give to "worthy causes," and we continue to cherish the myth of "private charity" even in the face of its almost complete breakdown. The state spends more per capita for idiots, imbeciles, paupers, and habitual criminals than it does for college students and four or five times as much as for grade school pupils. We emphasize character, but in hard times the character building agencies are first to be cut. We honor great economic exploiters who "rob widows and orphans to build homes and hospitals for widows and orphans." We pay social workers poorly on the theory that they are sufficiently rewarded by their consciousness of good work well done. Social workers should be highly skilled, but we permit almost anyone to practice (or malpractice) social work. We are justly proud of our juvenile and domestic courts, but many of them are in the hands of incompetents, politicians, legalistic pedants, and social ignoramuses.

*Art and Recreation.* Modern art reflects the confusion, triviality, inner tension, and lack of integration in our culture. Many artists are clearly damaged souls and those who are not deal chiefly with the doings of damaged souls. The sex complex referred to above is present on almost every page of modern literary art. The rest is not silence, but the hectic cries of cultural neurotics struggling to bring some semblance of order out of their cultural chaos. We drape nude statues and suppress noble books like *Ulysses*, *Desire Under the Elms*, and *The Well of Loneliness* as obscene, while lubricious burlesques run wide open

and pornographic periodicals purvey their pruriency. In spite of our pride in the "higher things," most of our "art appreciation" is on the Mickey Mouse comic-strip, jazz music, and sloppy-sentimental-risqué song level. Cinema, stage, and reading are for millions of people chiefly used as a means of escape from reality into a soul-sick world of daydreams and wishful reverie.

We try to foster participative recreation, but most of it is passive, much of it vicious, and almost all of it, flagrantly commercialized. We love animals and birds and plants, but we glorify hunting and fishing and ravage the countryside of flowers and shrubs. We spend millions for flowers and S. P. C. A.'s in communities where children are being starved and beaten. We spend a great deal of money on education for recreation, frequently emphasizing games that are never played in later life but that chiefly promote the professional careers of coaches and players and provide a doubtful prestige for schools.

*The Muddle of Medicine.* Doctors are trained largely at public expense but many charge what the traffic will bear and excuse themselves by treating many people free—they say. They generally oppose public medicine even though they are idle much of the time, cannot collect their bills, and millions of people cannot pay for much-needed medical care. We grow lyric over the triumphs of science in medicine, but we spend millions with medical fakers and more millions for nostrums and faith cures. We prize health above everything, but we gourmandize, turn night into day, live in city slums, smother our lungs with carbon monoxide and tobacco fumes, and try to pay the national debt by drinking booze. We support millions of cats and dogs while millions of mothers and children lack food and medical care, to say nothing of decent education and recreation. We are proud of our numbers, but we practice

birth control, commit over a million abortions a year and allow millions of people to die from preventable causes. We still have moral reactions to mental illness while the average doctor knows little and cares less about mental hygiene and psychotherapy.

*Religion.* We are a Christian nation, but half of us belong to no church; half of those who do, seldom attend; and half of those who attend do not believe the creed. We still pray for the sick even though we call the doctor. Many who have faith in the afterlife weep at death instead of rejoicing. Whether or not we believe in spiritual immortality, our graveyard complex is equally illogical and enormously costly. We honor religion, but make fun of "Sunday School boys," "Y. M. fellows," and even ministers. The ministry is a noble, learned profession, but we see many priests who are willing to live fat, lazy, ignorant lives, preaching to wealthy pewrenters in palatial churches sedative sermons in praise of the God-of-things-as-they-are. No wonder social revolutions have always slaughtered the priests! We believe in a God of peace and love, but all nations pray to Him for victory in war and most denominations furnish army chaplains. This is the age of science, but there is more belief in miracles, spirits, occultism, and providences than one would think possible.

*Education and Science.* Education and science are the particular pride of our culture, but we sneer at the Brain Trust and "book larnin'" and generally regard teachers and scientists as childish, impractical theorists. We are proud of our free public education, but about two thirds leave school at fourteen; even though the census figure is about four per cent for illiteracy, the army draft was about twenty-five per cent unable to read and write in any functional manner. We pay teachers very little and still have thousands who are poorly trained, socially unintelligent,

and emotionally maladjusted. We assume that people go to college for professional training or love of learning, but some educators have called the college a country club, mating ground, kindergarten, and snob-factory.

Our scientific system produces a specialism that gives great prestige and great technical skill, but not always great wisdom. Especially is this true of the nonsocial scientists who are frequently quite willing to advise and lead in societal affairs even though they are quite ignorant and contemptuous of social science. We use the findings of science to destroy each other physically, to exploit each other economically, and to produce all sorts of irrational behavior. The very triumphs of science produce an irrational, magic-minded faith in science so that "science" becomes a stereotype with which fakers, quacks, demagogues, advertisers and half-baked fanatics can and do mislead, confuse, and exploit the uncritical populace.

## II

Such contradictions and confusions as have been sketched briefly here, or their analogues, are found in all cultures. They are almost always evaded by usage, rationalization, and imperative repression into the "unconscious." Neurotic and psychotic behavior frequently results from individual failure to build up a sufficiently coherent (socially acceptable) system of such escape mechanisms.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>T. Burrow, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, New York, 1927; B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, New York, 1927; F. M. Keesing, "The Changing Life of Native Peoples in the Pacific Area: A Sketch in Cultural Dynamics," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39:443-58, 1934; and Freud, of course. See also John Dollard, "The Psychotic Person Seen Culturally," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39:637-48, 1934. My paper, written in December, 1933, attempts to make explicit the same theory that is implicit in Dollard's paper. He is dealing with the personal results of such cultural confusion as is set forth here. R.B.



Hence we find ourselves in this peculiar situation: Our personalities are formed by cultural conditioning, a large part of which we must irrationally escape in order to remain "rational." Our culture is rent with internal divisions and conflicts which erupt into group behavior patterns which in their turn produce societal counterparts of all sorts of schizoid symptoms. It is not difficult to think of societal behavior similar to sadism, masochism, persecution, grandeur delusions, paranoias, abulias, phobias, manias, regressions, fixations, symbolisms, fetishisms, over-and-under compensations, and so on. All of us, even sociologists, carry these antithetic action-emotion patterns deeply embedded in our personalities like tubercular scar tissue in our lungs. We are all Mr. Facing-Many-Ways; the nearest we can approach rationality is to recognize that we are inescapably irrational,—that much of our behavior is sheer rationalization.

Why is this? Is the human mind fundamentally alogical, ambivalent, irrational? Or is it merely culture lag? Do the fantasy and reality principles oppose each other in irrepressible and insoluble conflict? If so, is it realistic to try to be rational? Is it possibly an aspect of the growth principle? Perhaps these phenomena are the very source of "consciousness" and hence have a survival value. If so, the so-called "genuine" cultures, those harmoniously integrated, are defective for survival and hence should be called "spurious."<sup>5</sup> Such cultures may be like the so-called superior men who are outbred and hence outlived by their so-called inferiors. The dynamic, culture-creating (and destroying) men are the zealots, the frenetic enthusiasts, the symbols of cultural confusion and conflict,—the Hitlers, Lenins, Carnegies, Napoleons,

<sup>5</sup> E. Sapir, "Culture—Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, 29:401-29, 1924. The questions are of course suggested by the specific writings of Lévy-Bruhl, Freud, Ogburn, B. Russell, J. B. Watson, et al.

Michelangelos, Luthers, Christs, Caesars, Alexanders,—the men who “think with their hips,” in Steffens’ phrase.

Perhaps this core of unreason in the mind functions in the growth of culture as do the physical and biological limiters of man,—the struggle ends in certain defeat, for each person and for every race, but it produces those adventitious, transient phenomena we call cultures. Perhaps the confusion and unreason embedded in every culture is merely an aspect of this cosmic disharmony; perhaps any small degree of integration is only temporary light out of darkness, brief and seeming order out of eternal chaos, and hence cannot possibly avert, perhaps not even delay, the eventual destruction of any culture which achieves momentary equilibrium.

If this be true, the sociologist has a thankless task, even if it be a possible one; if it can be done, he will doubtless create a natural science of societal phenomena and he will do so in the faith (and staunch belief) that his culture will be saved thereby. Perhaps he is driven by the very unreason and irrationality of the culture he hopes to discipline and control. He is the victim of a “cultural compulsive”<sup>6</sup> as coercive and perhaps as irrational as the daemons that drove Socrates, Lenin, and Carnegie. There can be no growth without destruction. Creation always destroys something. If and when the natural science of sociology is created, it may be merely one more puny gesture of “man against the gods”; it may represent the destruction of a cultural dynamic and therefore become the precursor of the death of the culture that gave it birth; or it may open the way to the creation of a new type of culture which we cannot even imagine now, as the men of 1800 could not imagine what has developed since that date.

<sup>6</sup> See V. F. Calverton, “Compulsive Basis of Social Thought: As illustrated by the varying doctrines as to the origins of marriage and the family,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 36:689-720, 1931.

## Social Research Notes

*Edited by* BESSIE AVERNE MCCLENAHAN

*The Development of the Concept of the Social Nature of the Self* by Christopher J. Bittner, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. Published by the author; printed by the Fred Hahne Printing Co., Webster City, Iowa, 1932, pp. 433. This book is the thesis prepared in connection with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology, Graduate College of the State University of Iowa. It represents a searching analysis of the concept of the self as found in philosophy, psychology, and sociology. It deals with primitive and ancient conceptions and speculations concerning the nature of the self or soul, with the problem of the self and mind in modern philosophy, and with the social nature of the self in "Post-Kantian Idealism."

The "Sociological Approach to the Problem of the Self" is given in Chapter VI which is divided into five parts including sections dealing with the self and the group mind and the self from the point of view of society as a psychic organism. In relation to the former, are given the ideas of Comte, Durkheim, Wundt, William McDougall, and Giddings; in relation to the second set of concepts, the theories of J. S. McKenzie and C. H. Cooley. The other sections deal with the cultural, the biological, and the psychosocial approach to the problem of the self. The latter are developed in terms of the ideas of J. M. Baldwin, G. H. Mead, and L. L. Bernard.

In the concluding chapter, the factors determining the self are classified and analyzed. The reader would have appreciated a more definite statement of the author's own theories. Dr. Bittner apparently concludes after his detailed study and comparisons that "the self or personality is the sum total of response patterns, subjectively motivated and objectively conditioned." (p. 424) "Consciousness and self-consciousness are not separate and distinct stages in the development of the personality of the child, but two aspects of the same process in the growth and development of awareness of the objective and subjective worlds of experience." (p. 425) "Social life is a factor in conditioning rational development but it cannot create the

powers of reasoning in an individual. In the same manner social factors are potent factors in the development of self-consciousness, but the stimuli from one's own body, and from the physical environment contribute to the same end." (p. 526)



We turn from the library of books to the library of the newspaper for the second research project under our scrutiny. This study comes from the University of Georgia and is one of the Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Studies.<sup>1</sup> It bears the title *What Negro Newspapers of Georgia Say About Some Social Problems, 1933*.<sup>2</sup> The author is Rollin Chambliss, a white man, who lived in a "little South Georgia community." In his Preface he says:

I was in college before I read a book written by a Negro. I had been to Negro churches and heard their preachers. Probably the first singing I ever heard was that of Negroes. But I had never associated them with writing or very much with reading. Those were things, like our Boy Scout troop and school picnics, in which they had no part. I remember the surprise I felt at finding DuBois' *Soul of the Black Folk*, my first contact with Negro writing, not different in outward respects from other books I had read. I don't know what I expected Negro writing to look like; certainly I knew that it would not be white ink on black paper. But I did feel that there would be something physical to show that *this* was done by a Negro.

The author gives a brief history of the Negro press first in America and then in Georgia. Speaking of the characteristics of Negro papers, he says:

Attention has already been called to the militant attitude of most Negro newspapers. They have taken a stand against certain conditions which they think ought to be remedied, and their position is made quite clear in editorial comments and in the manner in which news stories are written. A great deal of the news is really not news at all, but propaganda. (p. 15) The effect of the expression of Negro opinion in the Negro press upon white people is "almost negligible, for the very simple reason that few white people read Negro papers. . . . Surely if there is to be a better relation between the white and black races here in America, the white man must hear what the Negro writer is saying in his newspapers."

<sup>1</sup> See review of *Charlottesville, A Study of Negro Life and Personality*, also one of Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Studies, *Sociology and Social Research*, 19:181.

<sup>2</sup> *What Negro Newspapers of Georgia Say About Some Social Problems, 1933*, by Rollin Chambliss, Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Studies, No. 13, Bulletin of the University of Georgia, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, Nov. 1934. 117 pages. Price \$1.00.

## International Notes

JUGOSLAVIA has weathered the first shock of the tragic death of her dictator-king. That the shots which killed King Alexander did not start another war is due to the poverty of the nations of Europe, to the restraint of Italy, and to a surprising degree of cohesion among the dissident provinces that comprise Yugoslavia. There is no guaranty, however, that this cohesion will survive the troublesome days ahead.

ITALY's program of increased militarization is a disturbing factor in world affairs. Males from eight to thirty-three years of age are to be trained in military matters. Beginning at eight all boys are to start their physical training for military ends and are to be taught the glories of war; at eighteen military training begins in earnest and lasts for fifteen years. Such a submerging of young manhood into the ideals of fighting and killing sounds like the advent of another Dark Ages.

SPAIN continues in the throes of civil strife. Elements that represent ordinary types of differences have been growing irreconcilable. Were it not for the exercise of dictatorial powers and the use of force, Spain might easily fall asunder. The Catalonians, the Basques, and the people of the Asturias are samples of those who have threatened within the past few months to rebel against the national government if their demands are not granted. Then the government itself is but a makeshift composed of mutually distrustful elements. From the Communists to the Monarchists is a long stretch. Radical fights extreme reactionary. There is little solid ground between for the progressive or constructive liberal to stand upon.

ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, CHILE, PERU, and other South American countries were quickly disturbed by the testimony that was presented before the Munitions Committee of the United States Senate. The resentment against the alleged revelations spread in South America; it took the form of discrimination against American-made goods of all sorts and is a sorry spectacle. For diplomatic reasons it became necessary apparently to put some kind of a soft pedal in Washington on the testimony. Still more significant was the damaging character



of the "revelations" against the munitions manufacturers in the United States, Great Britain, and elsewhere. The testimony has made a strong case for those Americans who urge that profits should be divorced from the manufacture of munitions, that governments should take over this industry, and that the inhuman spectacle of millions of dollars being made out of wars should be stopped by confiscatory taxes.

JAPAN continues her march toward supremacy of Eastern Asia. Her military leaders defied world opinion in the attack on Shanghai and in the setting up of the puppet state of Manchukuo; now they challenge the naval treaties of the world and demand revisions which will make their country the mistress of a widespread sea and land area. Their insistence on methods that dominated world politics a century ago sets the world back a long step in its groping toward peace and constructive progress. On the other hand there are in Japan many people who oppose such methods; there are many others who favor them only for the same reason that many Germans favor Hitler, namely, because no other way of escaping national decline seems feasible. Then there are the millions of the Japanese common people who are the unwitting victims of propaganda.

## Book Notes

**ESSAYS IN OUR CHANGING ORDER.** By THORSTEIN VEBLEN.  
Edited by LEON ARDZROONI. The Viking Press, New York,  
1934, pp. xviii+472.

The editor has rendered social economics a special service in bringing together and in having published thirty-four essays by the unique and brilliant Veblen. The largest group numbers seventeen and is entitled "War Essays." Twelve papers appear under the heading of "Essays in Economics," while the remaining documents are classified as "Miscellaneous Papers." While the style and thought of Veblen are too well known to be discussed here, and while these papers deal with such a wide range of socio-economic themes as to preclude any adequate survey in this review, let it be said that throughout, from those papers first printed a third of a century ago to those written shortly before Veblen's death, the same trenchant analysis of human foibles and the same heavy style are evident on every page. Most of these papers will bear a rereading and careful study today, for the events of these recent days are proving Veblen correct in many of his strictures upon society. E. S. B.

**THE STRANGER.** A Study in Social Relationships. By MARGARET MARY WOOD. Columbia University Press, New York, 1934, pp. 295.

On the basis of extensive experiences in many lands and an intensive sociological analysis the author contends "that the new relationships which are formed when strangers meet are not governed wholly by fortuitous circumstances, but that they are already present in the group which the stranger has entered." In Part III the author demonstrates the practical nature of the aforementioned principle by interpreting the rôle of the stranger in terms of the differing community patterns that exist in immigrant communities, in foreign colonies, in frontier settlements, in retarded districts, in the rural neighborhood, in the small town, and in the city. Throughout, it appears that the rôle of the stranger is determined by the values of the group with which he comes in contact and by the degree to which the stranger is considered to be an asset or a liability in relation to these values. The monograph is a valuable addition to sociological literature. E. S. B.

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY, SECOND EDITION. Published by G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1935, pp. xcvi+3210.

This new Merriam-Webster dictionary not only has a remarkable history behind it, but it surpasses its own superior heritage. It is the latest word in the "fullness, clearness, and accuracy" of its definitions of words. The distinguished founder of this well-established line of dictionaries set the pace represented in the latest edition when in the first volume which appeared in 1828 he achieved recognition for the "fullness, clearness, and accuracy" of his definitions. It is this threefold achievement which makes the present volume outstanding.

As indicated in the "Preface," written by the editor-in-chief, President William A. Neilson of Smith College, Noah Webster was "a patriotic scholar" who wished to provide a means of self-education, and hence of adult education for the English-speaking world. His *American Spelling Book*, printed in 1783, passed the million mark long before it was supplanted. Its success enabled the author to devote twenty years to the making of a dictionary that would take the place of Samuel Johnson's authoritative work, and which contained 12,000 more words than did the latest Johnson. The first edition contained 70,000 words and went to the printer written entirely in the hand of Noah Webster.

The second edition was brought out in 1840 by Webster, three years before his death in 1843, when G. and C. Merriam acquired the publishing rights. Altogether there have been ten editions of this justly famous dictionary. The remarkable growth in vocabularies is seen by glancing at the following numbers of words in selected editions: 1828, 70,000 words; 1864, 114,000 words; 1890, 175,000 words; 1900, 200,000; 1909, 400,000 words; and now in 1934, 550,000 words, not to mention the terms given in the "Gazetteer" and the "Biographical Dictionary."

Forty-eight full page illustrations, twenty-five in colors, are given. The appropriateness as well as the artistic skill of the full page portrait of Noah Webster, which is accorded the place of honor as the frontispiece, deserves an especially favorable word of comment.

A few more figures given by the publishers and the editor-in-chief may be cited in order to indicate the scope and completeness of the volume. A total of 207 "scholars, scientists, and experts" collected the data. There are more than 5,000 entries in the "Table of Ab-

breviations," a total of 12,000 terms are accompanied by pictorial illustrations, 13,000 names appear in the "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary," and 36,000 names in the "Pronouncing Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary of the World." This edition contains 150,000 more words than did its immediate predecessor in 1909, an edition alone which is more than twice the size of the first Webster product. The present edition possesses a grand total exceeding 600,000 terms. Moreover it is "a storehouse of citations," for in defining words, citations from literature and other works, quotations numbering the staggering figure of 1,665,000, truly make this book a "citation dictionary."

In addition to President Neilson as editor-in-chief, Professor Thomas A. Knott, formerly professor of English in Iowa State University, served as the general editor. Paul W. Carhart was the pronunciatory editor, while A. G. Baker, president of the publishing firm, correlated the editorial and business activities. The interests of sociology were cared for by Professor Frank H. Hankins of Smith College; of anthropology, by Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History; of psychology, by Professor Robert S. Woodworth of Columbia University; and of education, by Professor Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago.

The styles of type face, of bindings, of format leave nothing to be desired. The worlds of scholarship, of science, of art, and of business efficiency have combined to make this an unsurpassed work. The India paper edition especially is a work of art, neatness, and compactness. Its 3,300 pages can be compressed into less than three inches in thickness.

A dictionary such as this is a document of supreme worth to have at one's elbow. No finer stimulus can be suggested for the promotion of scholarship, of self-education, and of adult education. Its "fullness, clarity, and accuracy" make it indispensable for the promotion of correct pronunciation, skill in orthography, expansion of vocabulary, knowledge in etymology, not to mention versatility in composition.

E. S. B.

**PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY.** By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON and S. W. CUSHING. Fourth Edition, Rewritten. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1934, pp. xxii+467.

This new fourth edition of a standard work has been extensively rewritten. New maps are included, including railroad maps of the six continents. All the statistical matter has been brought to date.

**A STATISTICAL STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT AND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN THE BOROUGHs OF MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN, NEW YORK CITY.** By IRVING W. HALPERN, JOHN N. STANISLAUS, and BERNARD BOTEIN. Published for the New York City Housing Authority, 1934, pp. xix+164.

This volume contains the findings of a statistical and ecological study of crimes and criminals in Manhattan and Brooklyn for 1930. There are several score maps, tables, and graphs, and an explanatory text. It represents a vast amount of work and provides much well-analyzed data on the crime situation in New York. The special interest of the volume is slum clearance and its possible relation to crime. The authors treat the causal relations of the slum to crime with commendable reserve, though their findings show clearly a very high concentration of crimes and criminals in the slum areas they studied.

The study will be of real value to students of criminology, of the urban community, and of human ecology. The statistical tabulations are excellently done, the maps are in general well done, but the graphs frequently violate the simplest psychological principles and graphing standards. Unfortunately the text suffers from irritating peculiarities of style and has not had the editorial services of a good publishing house. The typography is execrable. E. F. Y.

**SOCIAL REFORMERS.** Edited by DONALD O. WAGNER. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. xvii+749.

The reader will find this source book packed full of well-chosen materials from the writings of the following persons: Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo, Paine, Cobbett, Sismondi, Carlyle, Owen, Fourier, Blanc, Kingsley, von Ketteler, Godwin, Proudhon, Spencer, Comte, J. S. Mill, Marx, Engels, Bernstein, George, Wagner, S. Webb, Bakunin, Sorel, Lewis, Hobson, Leo XIII, Rocco, Tolstoy, Veblen, Tawney, and Dewey. The range of writers is wide enough to satisfy a great variety of students of social reform. The entire exhibit gives a stimulating yet conflicting picture of reform leaders. Each chapter is introduced with a brief description of the given "reformer"; the emphasis is placed on the social factors which explain at least partially the particular person's reform ideas. In this day of social change and upheaval the volume by Dr. Wagner is especially timely and useful. E. S. B.



THE MEXICAN IN THE UNITED STATES. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1934, pp. 126.

In portraying the Mexican in the United States, Dr. Bogardus has written a book characterized by scientific accuracy, sympathetic insight, and human interest. This latest publication by the head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Southern California constitutes the eighth number in the Social Science Series and the fifth number of the School of Research Studies. The University of Southern California Press publishes this series. Both printing and binding of this and the preceding numbers have the mark of distinction.

"This particular study," to quote from the preface, "is based on new and first-hand materials, such as life histories, interview data, psycho-social analyses. The actual experiences of Mexican immigrants together with the definition and interpretation of these experiences that are made by Mexicans are drawn upon heavily."

A happy combination of chapter headings compresses the subject matter into the required space without marring the effectiveness of the presentation. Community and Camp Life, Family Life and Conditions, Health and Hygiene, Labor and Industry, Property and Poverty, Crime and Delinquency, Amusements and Morals, Religion and Art, Child Welfare and the Second Generation, Citizenship and Adult Education, Legislation and Control, Repatriation and Readjustment, are headings that admirably reveal the contents of the book. An excellent and extensive annotated bibliography adds research value to this all too brief racial and sociological study of the Mexicans within our gates.

The author has enhanced the value of his work not merely by presenting excellent excerpts from documentary source material in the form of interviews and life histories gained here, but his recent visit to Mexico has furnished excellent background materials and local color from the native habitat of these immigrant Mexicans which in turn through interviews have immeasurably enriched and deepened the contents of the text and added weight and authority to the findings. All through the book runs the golden thread of appreciation of the inherent worth of Mexican culture and the latent possibilities of enrichment of American culture by the diffusion of

Mexican culture by means of these humble but effective "kultur-traeger" from our sister Republic to the South. This book which contains *multum in parvo* deserves a wide circulation among lay readers and in college and university circles.

George M. Day

**ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN NEGRO ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.** By CLARK FOREMAN. Published for the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, by W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1932, 88 pp.

This important monograph was submitted as a doctoral dissertation in political science at Columbia University. Its author is Director for Studies of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and he had the help of two competent assistants in the field observations. These consisted of 10,023 tests of reading and arithmetic attainment on the part of Negro pupils in 569 schools in 11 southern states. The main objective was to measure the social environment as a factor in performance under the tests, upon the working hypothesis that the norms of the Stanford Achievement Tests had been established upon experience in large population centers, north and south, possessing first-class equipment and enjoying a nine-months' school term. The study questions the dictum of some that the Negro child is inferior to the white, mentally, because he does not perform so well in the tests. The investigators took the hypothesis that his poor educational and social environment is partly responsible. This was supported by two facts already known, namely that white children in the poorer rural schools fall behind white children in the cities, and that colored children do better after removal to a better social environment in the north.

This research bore out the hypothesis, after a careful study of the community, the superintendent, supervisors, length of term, textbooks, teachers, schoolhouses, social and economic statutes, community organization, and health conditions. Many Negro pupils do not own a pencil of their own; does this affect their slowness in writing?

The conclusion is that "as the environment of the Negro pupils approaches that of the white children from whom the norms of achievement were derived, the achievement of the Negro pupils approaches the norm."

C. M. C.

THE RUSSIANS IN HOLLYWOOD. By GEORGE M. DAY.  
University of Southern California Press, 1934, pp. 108.

This recent contribution to the sociological study of immigrant groups is outstanding in its monographic treatment and literary presentation. The reader is compelled to follow with equal interest and sympathy the gradual rooting into American soil of this self-exiled group of approximately 1,500 Russians who left their country either because of their allegiance to the Czarist régime or because of their aversion to the political philosophy of the Soviet Republic. The psychological insight of the author into the problems of cultural conflict and accommodation of both the individual and the group is paramount. Dr. Day endeavors to catch the dynamic interaction of two different cultures upon the integration and disintegration of personality, according to the ability of the individual to meet with a minimum of effort and a maximum of success the exigencies of social control imposed by each culture. Hence the grip of the group upon the individual is rather loose, mystical, casual, or incidental, because of the subtle varieties of the original social and economic strata from which these émigrés have emerged, and because of the equally diverse stratification of these Russians into the weft of American society. This is more easily explained by the individualistic tendencies of the personalities involved. Consequently the group is studied through individuals in constant interaction between the old and the new worlds of ideas and of attitudes. Most of these Hollywood Russians belong to the aristocracy of traditional social or intellectual supremacy. They have artistic talents and are engaged in liberal professions, which in themselves are international in nature and in social value, a factor which might facilitate the process of their adaptation to the new environment. Yet the latter is conditioned by the personal attitude of the Slavophile and his willingness or stubbornness in accepting or rejecting the new culture. The processes of conflict or accommodation thus differ from individual to individual, irrespective of the two interesting differences between the older generation, "permeated with the ancient culture tradition," and the younger group of "students and artists, engineers, and professional folk. . . who do not cling to it so tenaciously." These processes are illustrated by specific cases presented with psychological penetration and dramatic ability. The author analyzes after each case the psychological reactions and the reasons for failure or success of both the individual

and the group involved. Constantly pointing out the advantages or disadvantages that the transplanted Russian exile reaps out of the impact with his American environment, according to his personal or racial endowment or shortcoming, and the benefits that the American civilization might gain by gradually absorbing the ethnic contributions of its adopted citizens, such as art clubs, restaurants, the Russian Orthodox Church, and all the infiltration of Russian art into the life of the mind, the author comes to the conclusion that "Los Angeles will be decidedly richer in culture and in art appreciation because of the presence and cultural activities of the Russian colony in Hollywood."

Christine Galitzi  
Scripps College

**THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF POLAND.** By PAUL F. DOUGLASS. Ruter Press, Cincinnati, 1934, pp. 132.

The author of the study, Mr. Paul F. Douglass, has performed a prodigious amount of work in collecting, arranging, and analyzing the statistical material which constitutes the bulk of his study. The emphasis upon "facts and figures" is continued to the point that one or more tables occur on 67 of the 119 pages of the text. Thus the volume is primarily a compendium. The foregoing remark should not be interpreted as a stricture upon the book, since it contains a thesis to be supported. Briefly, the author presents a study of the productive forces of Poland and the international commodity exchange of that area. Out of this set-up the Polish government seeks to achieve a high measure of economic independence.

This reviewer has but two unfavorable remarks to make. First, the book sadly lacks map support. No conventional map appears and the extremely abbreviated economic cartograph is good but inadequate. Second, in his search for a short title, the author employs a term which appears misleading. The substance of the book indicates that Poland is headed toward increased "dependence" rather than "independence." Practically every pound of Polish exports is essential to pay for necessary imports, in order that the Polish state may expand and improve its scale of living.

Aside from the above this reviewer regards this book as a well-executed analysis of Polish economic structure and of interest, *per se*, to economists and economic geographers.

C. D. C.

**LEISURE: A SUBURBAN STUDY.** By **GEORGE A. LUNDBERG.**  
Columbia University Press, New York, 1934, pp. xii+396.

The "new leisure" has forced itself upon us with such a suddenness that few have realized its far-reaching significance. The study of the leisure and recreational behavior of the suburban people by George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerney is the first concrete effort of its kind to come to grips with this problem. The locale of the study is Westchester County, a prosperous suburb of New York. The greater part of the volume is devoted to the reporting of observations and the conclusions based upon the concrete data, dealing with such topics as, "The Suburban Social Setting," "The Organization of Leisure," "The Amount and Uses of Leisure," "Suburban Organization and Leisure," and the relation of suburban institutions to leisure. The family, the church, the school, the arts, and adult education and reading are not only conditioned by the extension of leisure but are important agencies and means for a fuller utilization of it. It was found that the daily ceremonial of eating with its attendant sociability, reading, public entertainment, sports, radio, motoring, and numerous miscellaneous events consume most of the people's leisure. While the scope of the study is too broad for any intensive experimentation with and utilization of scientific methods of procedure, yet the data obtained show evidences of careful analysis of the area under consideration. Eighteen different schedules were employed in the inquiry. The diaries, particularly as reported in Chapter IV, give evidences of the amount and uses of leisure. As communities recognize the importance of the problems of leisure they will make more adequate provisions for the ever increasing spare time of the people. Surveys, such as the one reported in this volume, are indispensable prerequisites to sound planning and program building.

M. H. N.

**PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS IN SOCIOLOGY.** By **SAMUEL BURCKHARD.** Keystone Press, Tempe, Arizona, 1934.

In this work book with its extra pages between chapters for note-taking and with its lists of study questions and its "Suggested Readings," the author has presented the field of sociology including seven chapters on "Problems." The book is based upon the sound theory that "teaching as a process consists of assisting the student to evaluate and reconstruct his experiences."



BRANDEIS: LAWYER AND JUDGE IN THE MODERN STATE. By Alpheus Thomas Mason. Princeton University Press, 1933, pp. vi+203.

It is always a thrilling experience to read the life history of a champion of humanitarian justice, and this book by Professor Mason provides just this kind of experience. Indeed, one chapter alone, the third, may be said to be worth the price of the book; every student of social welfare may well read it. Here is quoted that notable and challenging remark of Justice Brandeis: "The reason why we have not made more progress in social matters is that these problems have not been tackled by the practical men of high ability, like those who have worked on industrial inventions and enterprises. We need *social inventions*, each of many able men adding his work until the invention is perfected." Professor Mason suggests that this kind of thinking has had its effect upon the present Roosevelt policy in enlisting the aid of intelligence in the present economic period, and that Brandeis has been the real forerunner of the *New Deal*.

In reviewing the book, one is tempted to quote without restraint the many stirring phrases used by Brandeis in his analytical expositions of the nature of our present industrial society; they are food for the ages. Brandeis notes that modern industrial society is a struggle between the "haves" and the "have-nots," and as for the greater part of the American workers, he sees them as being condemned to industrial peonage as long as they are denied the right of real collective bargaining. Therefore he champions unionism but is definitely opposed to any monopoly on the part of labor, just as he is opposed to monopoly on the part of capital. The State must aid the worker if it would really secure democracy for itself.

His decisions, made twenty years ago, relating to the trusts and combinations, which reflect one of his basic ideas that business may become a menace to the community by virtue of size alone, are now regarded by many as testimony of the telic wisdom of Brandeis. Laws which regulate gigantic businesses are not "infringements on liberty," but actually are "protections against infringements on liberty." To read the content of many of his notable decisions is to realize that they have been written by a mind ever alert to their social and economic consequences. Would that we had had a Supreme Court filled with Brandeises! Professor Mason has written an admirable biography, because he has photographed the man and his activities in artistic and skillful perspective.

M. J. V.

**THE GROWTH OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.** By CARROLL H. WOODY. McGraw-Hill Company, New York, 1915-32, pp. xiii+577.

This book is one of the monographs published under the direction of the President's (Hoover) Research Committee on Local Trends. The investigations for this report were carried on during the years 1930-32, but brief additions covering the initial programs instituted by President Roosevelt have also been made.\*

The trend of government has followed two directions—great increase in expenditures and enlargement of powers and functions. The report is quite detailed and covers developments in foreign relations, commerce, industries, labor interests, agriculture, transportation, communication, health, education, and research. Expenditures in 1930 had increased 170 per cent over those of 1915 and since then an enormous increase has been voted by Congress. The study shows that aid to states and local communities rose from 6 millions in 1915 to approximately 234 millions in 1932. Certain forms of control over business were extended but the conclusion is reached that the most significant trend was "the shift from control to service." The public debt of July 1, 1933, had reached a total of 22 billion and the additional expenditures of the present administration are calculated to raise the debt to nearly 32 billion.

G. B. M.

**UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF.** By ROBERT G. ELBERT. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1934, pp. xii+136.

The author, a retired capitalist, has given considerable time and thought to the problem of unemployment and the resultant problems, and has developed a number of ideas of his own which he has stated without mincing matters in this small volume. He foresees the adoption of a national program of unemployment insurance in the United States in the immediate future and is wisely anxious that the result not be a hodge-podge of ill-advised plans. He also suggests a plan of income taxation which would exempt all incomes up to \$10,000, and then tax all others on the basis of the amount saved. He concludes his discussion of this proposal by saying, "That I am in a small minority does not necessarily make my ideas unsound."

E. S. B.

**THE SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION.** By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Introduction by Robert E. Park. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934, pp. xxiv+215.

Mr. Johnson reports in this book a study of six hundred Negro families in Macon County, Alabama. Not far away is Tuskegee Institute, but it is the old plantation tradition, rather than Booker T. Washington's institution, that casts its shadow over their lives.

The results of the survey are reported in chapters dealing with family life, economic factors, education and social changes, the church, recreation, and health. The data are presented quantitatively when possible, but this is not primarily a statistical study. Negro men and women are permitted to speak for themselves in their own language and the result is something peculiarly human and appealing.

The facts given are interesting and important in themselves. But perhaps they are not especially new. Previous studies of Negro tenantry, religion, education, health, and family life have yielded very much the same information. But not the same insight. It is the important contribution of this study that the facts are placed within the frame of reference of the plantation, a context which relates them and gives them meaning in terms of each other.

Edgar T. Thompson

**NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW?** By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON. The Viking Press, New York, 1934, pp. viii+103.

In no uncertain terms, in fact, at times, in what seems like a belligerent voice, the well-known author, an eminent leader of Negroes, speaks to the colored people of the United States, urging them to accept segregation or a low status no longer than it is necessary, to hold their heads high no matter what the treatment of the race may be. He declares that "there come times when the most persistent integrationist becomes an isolationist, when he curses the White world and consigns it to hell." Although the Negro may still be "Jim-Crowed, discriminated against, segregated, and lynched," although still "shut out from industry, barred from the main avenues of business and cut off from freer participation in national life," the Negro is urged to maintain an inner life of spiritual integrity "against all the powers of hell." In other words the Negro should no longer accept the place consigned to him by the white race, but assert his own self-respect on a plane with all self-respecting persons.

E. S. B.

ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE. By GEORGE B. MANGOLD. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. xiv+494.

In this up-to-date treatment of a rapidly changing field the author has brought together out of his wide range of experiences and knowledge of details about social welfare, a comprehensive and yet succinct picture of the various and complicated types of social-work institutions and activities. His approach is, first, through the evolution of public social work and, second, through the evolution of private social work. He then describes the organization of social work in a number of the most important special fields in which serious social problems have developed. Child welfare work, family welfare work, public health work, medical charities, psychiatric social work, immigration service, and employment service: these are some of the fields that are covered. In addition, local, state, and federal organization for social work is analyzed. The history of, and the advantages and disadvantages of the community chest movement are skillfully handled; and in the concluding chapter in this timely volume the author stresses the increasing importance of public social work, the movement for unemployment compensation, and the need for character building if the new leisure is not to be used destructively by the very people who, for the first time in history, have had the doors to a more abundant life opened to them by the advances in modern technology.

THE GEOGRAPHIC BASIS OF SOCIETY. By C. C. HUNTINGTON and FRED A. CARLSON. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. xxi+626.

Professors Huntington and Carlson have written a book which will undoubtedly become a standard text in its particular field. For the general attractiveness of its appearance, the publishers are to be congratulated. The authors have heeded the general criticisms launched against the geographical determinists, and thus emerge with a much more rational explanation of the conditioning of human behavior by cosmic phenomena. In fact, special care has been taken to impress the reader that theories of social causation must involve the biological, psychological, and sociological forces as well as the geographic in order to be rational. Their text is a veritable storehouse of interesting and useful material, and will be of invaluable

assistance to those who pursue further researches in related fields; moreover, the numerous illustrations, maps, charts, and statistical tables accompanying the textual explanations have been selected most judiciously. The basic assumption that man is, as the sociologist contends, a product of society and its cultural achievements but must perforce conduct his activities in a physical world which interacts with him, is well-grounded. These interactions of man with the cosmic phenomena form the framework of the discussions in the various chapters. Perhaps the most interesting, as well as the newest, material is found in the chapter on map-making and map-utilization. The appendices of the book present recent statistical material on climatic conditions, population, crop acreage, waterpower facilities, and mineral deposits of the world. The book has the merit of being almost a geographic encyclopedia.

M. J. V.

**AFTER THE SHUTDOWN.** By EWAN CLAGUE, WALTER J. COUPER, and E. WIGHT BAKKE. Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1934, pp. xi+153.

Two studies of socio-economic importance to communities are included in this volume, one devoted to the readjustments of workers thrown out of employment by two plant shut downs, the other to the readjustment of the same workers during the three-year period of the depression. The investigations followed upon the closing of the United States Rubber Company plants in New Haven and Hartford, and were undertaken to survey "the fortunes of a group of workers recognized in their communities as able men and women," when relieved of their jobs.

The New Haven plant, making footwear, employed men and women, mainly Italian, somewhat advanced in years, with an average service of ten years, and wedded to a stabilized industrial craftsmanship. The Hartford plant, making tires, employed mainly young men, dominantly French- and English-Canadian, with an average five years of service, and geared to a high speed frequently changing type of industrial operation. It was found that the latter were better fitted to make new adjustments than the former. Because a small group of the ten-year workers had been given a dismissal wage, their earnings during the following year were about 83 per cent of the preceding year of steady employment, thus indicating the value of the dismissal wage, the others having had their incomes reduced



by half. Charitable relief was not a big factor, only 20 families applying for aid. The study further indicates that the burden of unemployment falls directly on the workers, despite the fact that both company and community made efforts to aid in replacement work. Many of the women workers definitely withdrew from the labor market; the skilled worker suffered more from idleness and decline in earnings. It is unfortunate that no succinct summary has been provided in tabular form.

M. J. V.

**CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.** Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, pp. xi+168.

This volume, consisting of the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission on Social Studies, sponsored by the American Historical Association, is replete with data concerning the nature and functions of the social sciences as conditioned by factors in American life. Six major divisions of investigation were followed, namely: 1. philosophy, purpose and objectives; 2. materials of instruction; 3. methods of teaching; 4. tests and testing; 5. the teacher, and 6. public relations. Most interesting conclusions with regard to several of these were as follows:

1. The growing and increasing complexity of social relationships and social change demands not only more emphasis on social science instruction, but a more realistic approach to the study of society.

2. The greatest of all material aids will be found in actual social situations centering in school life and surrounding society.

3. The great teacher, defying analysis, will present and endow the student with diverse ideas and points of view, and will show the student how to take and weigh evidence by the judicial process.

4. Boards of education should include membership with points of view other than those of business; the teaching profession should organize into a single association, thus removing diverse policies and interests and enabling it to contact leading minds in social science and philosophy. This section also implies the necessity of academic freedom, and strikes at those ever-present attempts which seek to stop the channels of free thought and inquiry.

In all, the recommendations provide significant goals for the liberation and the development of the social studies and, if adopted, would be sure to foster the evolution of democracy.

M. J. V.

TEORIA MONOGRAFIEI SOCIOLOGICE. By TRAIAN HERSENI. Institutul Social Roman, Bucharest. No date. Pp. 166.

TEHNICA MONOGRAFIEI SOCIOLOGICE. By H. H. STAHL. Institutul Social Roman, Bucharest. No date. Pp. 183.

These two volumes are brief expositions of the point of view and the field work methods of the group of sociologists at Bucharest under the leadership of Professor Gusti, who are seeking to develop scientific sociology and apply it to the study of Roumanian social conditions, particularly rural life. The influence of American rural sociology is well evidenced in the volume on theory. There are brief résumés in French for readers unfamiliar with Roumanian.

E. F. Y.

THE QUEST FOR SECURITY. By I. M. RUBINOW. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1934, pp. vii+638.

Although it has been twenty years since the author's book on *Social Insurance* first appeared, the fundamental principles of his thinking still remain apropos. The present work is more than a revision of the earlier book. The style has been changed, making the thought more attractive to a wider range of readers than even the volume on *Social Insurance* commanded. The major sections include: Accidents, Illness, Old Age, Unemployment, Widows and Orphans, Theory, Prophesy and Program. The author handles these phases of social insurance with noteworthy ease, skill, and good judgment, indicating the need for all those forms of social insurance which will guarantee security to a people daily growing more restless. E. S. B.

LAW AND ORDER IN POLYNESIA. By H. IAN HOGBIN. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1934, pp. lxxii+296.

In his extensive introduction, B. Malinowski, points out that modern anthropology is concentrating on the present and "aims at understanding the workings of human culture, the relations between individual mental processes and human institutions, and the biological foundations of human custom and thought." The author illustrates well this method in his study in Ontong Java and related areas. He finds how "the body of social obligations which have binding force . . . is very much wider than the series of prohibitions which constitute criminal law." In other words through a recognition of the need for coöperation, of mutual dependence and through ceremonies and the like, primitive people obey social rules to a large extent without the imposition of "law."

## Social Drama Notes

TOBACCO ROAD. A three-act play by Jack Kirkland. The Viking Press, New York, 1934, pp. 176.

This is the dramatization of Erskine Caldwell's novel, *Tobacco Road*, dealing with a degenerate Georgia cracker family in its final stages of decadence. Jeeter Lester and his tribe are pretty well known by this time to New York theatergoers, the play now having had nearly a year's run. Its success, aside from the acting, is probably due to its bitter and tragically-moving story.

Jeeter Lester and his wife Ada have brought up on a Georgia tobacco plantation a family of large proportions. They have paralleled the impoverishment of the soil, and their poverty succeeds in making them appear as the lowest of the low. Ignorance, cupidity, superstition, and lust all raise their ugliest heads in the drama. Unpleasant and sexually repellent as the action is, the play succeeds in compelling attention.

Sociologically, the drama is interesting because of its study of the effects of isolation. Here is the "wild beast" creation of isolation at its best, a loneliness which is made doubly severe by the depleting heat of the south. All of the primitive brutality of the crushed white is vividly and boldly drawn — these Lesters are without sympathy, without honor, without love, without cleanliness. They are the victims both of a faulty economic system and of their own weaknesses. The character studies of the parents and their son Dude are especially well sketched and should interest the student of psychology. While the reader of the play may not find that it will bring him an hour of pleasantries, it will serve to introduce him to an ugly but realistic type of life that heretofore may have escaped his attention and that is certainly in need of social indictment.

M. J. V.

## Social Photoplay Notes

*The Barretts of Wimpole Street* follows historical events more closely than does *The House of Rothschild*, hence the resulting impressions coincide more nearly with actuality. This play is an excellent study in domestic social distance. As a consequence of the tyranny of a father over his children the latter first despise, then pity and hate, and finally desert the father. The father means well but is bound to narrow, intolerant ideas, which he carries out so domineeringly that his children learn to lie to him and to deceive him. Being utterly inflexible and out of touch with the younger generation of his time, he makes both himself and his religion unbearable. A story of social nearness is unwoven in the aggressive wooing of "Elizabeth Barrett" by "Robert Browning." Mutual love and personal nearness arise out of deep-seated affinities in the poetic nature of both and in a similiar understanding of life. The interplay in the two sets of social distance suggests a tentative statement concerning social distance, namely, as social distance between parent and daughter increases, that between daughter and lover decreases; increasing distance in the first case is a stimulus to the shortening of distance in the second instance.

*The House of Rothschild* is a racial photoplay of special significance. It presents Jewish characters in their most attractive and broad-minded rôles. It shows them fighting for justice and fair play, and standing out against powerful but selfish contemporaries. They are portrayed as putting love of peace against the demands of competitive manufacture of munitions of war. Nearly everyone who sees the play undergoes at least a slight change in attitudes toward the Jew. When the play is ended one feels more friendly toward the Jew than at the beginning. The skillful and artistic work of George Arliss explains in no small way this increase in race friendliness. The Jew has been maligned and persecuted so often that a photoplay which shows him at his best is justified. It is important of course that the observer notice the points at which the photoplay varies from historical facts concerning the first Rothschilds.